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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MEETINGS OF THE CHAMBER OF
PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL)

Held at New Delhi on the 20th and 25th March 1933.

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AGENDA.

CHAMBER OF PRINCES

March 1933.

1. Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar on the death of His late Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur.

2 Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar to His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur

3 To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year.

4 To receive from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar the report of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations

5. To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar regarding the work of the Indian States' Delegation to the Third Round Table Conference.

6 Resolutions on matters arising out of the White Paper.

7. Resolution of thanks by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to His Highness the Chancellor.

8. Elections of—

(a) The Chancellor.

(b) The Pro-Chancellor.

(c) The Standing Committee.

WORK-CARD.

Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal.)

**(To be held at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, New Delhi, at
11 a.m., daily.)**

March 1933.

Monday, the 20th March 1933.

1 His Excellency the Viceroy will on arrival greet the Members and Representative Members who will be presented individually by His Highness the Chancellor.

2 Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar on the death of His late Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur. (Agendum No. 1)

3 Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar to His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur (Agendum No 2).

4 To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year (Agendum No 3)

5. To receive from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar the report of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations (Agendum No 4).

Saturday, the 25th March 1933.

1. To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar regarding the work of the Indian States' Delegation to the Third Round Table Conference. (Agendum No. 5).

2. Resolutions on matters arising out of the White Paper (Agendum No 6).

3 Resolution of thanks by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to His Highness the Chancellor. (Agendum No. 7).

4. Elections (Agendum No 8).

5 Reply of the Members and Representative Members to His Excellency the Viceroy's Opening Address.

6 His Excellency the Viceroy will then conclude the proceedings.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.

The 20th March, 1933.

The Chamber assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 A.M. on Monday, the 20th March, 1933 His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present.—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.	His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal	His Highness the Raja of Narsingarh.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior)	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Nawab of Jaora.	The Raja of Sarla.
	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner	His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur
His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.	His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungan- pur	

Punjab States.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.	His Highness the Raja of Mandi
The Nawab of Loharu	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.	His Highness the Raja of Suket

Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur.
His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra.	His Highness the Thakor Saheb of Palitana.
His Highness the Maharaja of Nawana- gar.	His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wan- kaner.

Bombay.

His Highness the Nawab of Cambay.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rajpipla.
The Maharana of Danta.	His Highness the Raja of Sangli.
The Chief of Phaltan	

Bihar and Orissa.

The Raja of Dhenkanal.	The Raja of Takler
The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.	

Central Provinces

The Raja of Korea.	The Raja of Surguja.
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Punjab

The Raja of Kalsia.	The Raja of Baghat.
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United Provinces.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares	His Highness the Raja of Tehri- Garhwal
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On arrival, and after greeting the Ruling Princes and Chiefs present, His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech:—

YOUR HIGHNESSES,

I welcome you today to the twelfth session of your Chamber since its inauguration in 1921. This is the second time I have had the privilege of presiding at your deliberations and in view of the important subjects which will come under discussion I look forward to it with lively and sympathetic interest. The adjectives, "momentous" and "critical", are at times misused and have already been applied on more than one occasion to your Sessions. But who can deny that the happenings throughout the world and in India during the last twelve months have been of an unusual and striking character and the annual meeting of any Chamber, whose function it is to take stock of the existing position and to lay down plans for the future, must necessarily reflect these conditions. I am glad that Your Highnesses have realised this and have provided a full attendance for the Chamber Sessions.

One Member of the Chamber has passed away since we last met. His Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur succeeded to his State over 65 years ago and had ruled it for more than 40 years. He attended the Conference of the Ruling Princes in 1917, but age and infirmity had prevented his joining at the Sessions of the Chamber itself since its inception. A man of lively mind and wide interests, he will be missed by those of his Brother Princes who knew him and I feel sure that you will all join with me in expressing sympathy with the bereaved family and in wishing happiness and prosperity to his successor.

We welcome for the first time to our Chamber His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur, who has now taken up the burden of his high responsibilities. I am sure that he will realise the value of his membership and will be a regular and active attendant at your Sessions.

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, President of the State Council, Bhavnagar, was selected to be one of the Delegates of India to the meetings of the League of Nations Assembly held in 1932, this being the second occasion on which the Indian States have been represented at the League Assembly by a States Minister. I feel sure that Sir Prabhashankar Pattani worthily maintained the traditions and prestige of the States and I await with interest the record of the League proceedings which he will lay before the Chamber.

I would wish to mention also a measure shortly reaching completion which has always been in accord with the desires of this Chamber. During the past year arrangements have been in progress to bring into direct relations with the Government of India, the remaining Indian States whose political relations have hitherto been conducted by the Bombay Government and also those who have been in relations with the Governments of the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. I hope that the transfer may take place almost immediately and when it does, we shall have advanced a long way towards the completion of the policy recommended in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of some twelve years ago. It is a policy of whose soundness I have long been convinced and the impending constitutional changes made me determined that the practical difficulties, both administrative and financial, which have hitherto hindered its progress must be surmounted without delay. I would pay a tribute to the wisdom.

sympathy and skill with which the Local Governments concerned have in the past guided and advised the States in their political relations and it is only the logic of events arising out of the impending constitutional developments and no failure on their part to discharge their responsibilities satisfactorily that has necessitated the change. Some of these States have made claims to be admitted to your Chamber as full members in their own right and these are being examined by a Committee which will I hope report to me shortly, and it may be that, as a result of their recommendations, I may feel it my duty to admit a certain number of them as additional full members of the Chamber, I hope and believe that when I do so they will give an added weight to its deliberations and strength to the unity of the whole Order of Princes.

I wish to express my appreciation of the work done by His Highness the Chancellor and the Standing Committee Members during the year. Although the last Round Table Conference has to some extent interfered with the meetings of the Standing Committee, I have had many opportunities of availing myself of their advice and His Highness the Jam Sahib has always been ready to place his sound judgment and ripe experience at my disposal. During the unavoidable absence of the Chancellor in England, His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, as Pro-Chancellor, ably carried on the duties of the office in this country and for his readiness to come to Delhi at all times despite personal inconvenience, I owe him my warmest thanks. Although only one meeting of the Standing Committee could be held in February 1933, it was able to transact useful business and on several important subjects misapprehensions were cleared away and agreement was reached.

I come last to the all important question that must be exercising your minds, that of Federation and the Federal scheme. Although the White Paper containing the intentions and provisional proposals of His Majesty's Government has been in your hands for the last few days I cannot hope that it has as yet been possible for you to study it in sufficient detail to enable you to discuss specific aspects in the present sessions of the Chamber. But since I understand that some points are causing Your Highnesses anxiety I may be permitted to say a few words about them.

You have seen what is stated in paragraph 19 of the introduction regarding the allocation of seats in the Council of State among the States' Members. It gives considerable latitude for interpretation and I can assure you that the list put before you on the 14th instant was illustrative only and I and His Majesty's Government would welcome any reasonable amendments which may make it generally acceptable. For instance, there is in my opinion nothing to prevent any States that may wish to do so from suggesting that the seats allocated to them should be pooled and arranging together for the appointment of Joint representatives. Such a plan might indeed be valuable as the nucleus of a party machine to hold the States together in matters of common interest.

I would point out also that as made clear in paragraph 3 of the introduction it must not "be assumed that the present proposals are in all respects so complete and final that a Bill would contain nothing which is not covered by this White Paper", and if Your Highnesses still wish to urge that further points relating to safeguards or other matters should also be included it is open to you to have them represented before the Joint Select Committee.

I trust that this explanation may resolve some of your difficulties as you examine the White Paper. It represents the beginning of the last stage after three long years of mutual discussions and of a constructive effort in which the Princes of India and their Ministers have taken a full share. I would recall that it was the Princes who at the first Round Table Conference three years ago, by their expressed determination to join with British India in securing a real measure of progress for India towards responsible Government, made Federation a living idea and a practical possibility. There have been difficulties in the way but many of these have been resolved during the subsequent discussions and compromises have been effected. It would be idle to deny that all points have not proved susceptible of mutual agreement and some may have to be left to decision by His Majesty's Government. I would emphasise two points for your consideration in regard to such decisions by His Majesty's Government.

Firstly, if such decisions are to be fair to all parties they cannot accept the extreme view of any particular interest or section, and secondly, His Majesty's Government are concerned only in obtaining a fair and reasonable settlement. Their standpoint is absolutely impartial for they believe, as I do and as you do, that the best interests of India and the best interests of the Empire are identical. I would appeal to Your Highnesses therefore to keep this in mind and while you will no doubt wish to examine with the greatest care all the details of the scheme as they affect yourselves and the interests of your States, I feel sure that at the same time you will take a statesman-like view of the position and, where mutual agreement may not prove to be possible, will accept the decisions of His Majesty's Government in the spirit in which they will be given. At every stage Your Highnesses have been associated with producing the Federal scheme and while none of you are finally committed to it until you sign your Instruments of Accession, I am sure you will realise that all participating in this problem must necessarily exercise the spirit of compromise, in order to secure the ideal for which we are working, the federation of all parts of this vast country. I sympathise keenly with your doubts and difficulties, and as you gaze on a world where unrest and unsettlement is evident on all sides, where so much that has appeared unshakable has crashed to ruin, when the failings rather than virtues of all existing forms of Government are under review, you may well wish to pause and consider deeply which way safety and happiness lie. It is for you to decide. Disadvantages and dangers lie in all courses but they may be countered by prudence, foresight and courage. It is my own firm personal conviction that for the Indian States the balance of advantage weighs heavily towards accepting the Federal scheme and working it wisely and prudently. It appears to me to offer you great advantages and if you choose to exercise them you will have a weight and influence in the Federal bodies which will go far to ensure stability and ordered progress in India. In all matters not expressly ceded to the Federation you will attain what you have long desired—direct relations with the Crown through the Viceroy—and the protection promised in your Treaties and Engagements has been reaffirmed in a manner which should satisfy the most doubtful amongst you. I have every hope and confidence that your deliberations will lead you to the same conclusion and that when Federation comes into being it will include within it the great majority of the Princes of India, determined to continue their steadfast loyalty to the

Crown and to ensure the steady progress of their Motherland towards self-government.

Agendum No. 1.

Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar on the death of His late Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses, I now rise to perform the most painful duty which falls on the Chancellor of the year to express our sorrow at the loss inflicted on our Order by the hand of death. We are deeply thankful to God that comparatively speaking Providence has dealt with us mercifully this year as we have to record the death of only one of our brother Princes. His Highness the late Maharaja of Chhatarpur was a Ruler well known to and held in great esteem by most of us. Though he did not take a prominent part in the deliberations of this Chamber, and on account of old age could not regularly attend our meetings, his sympathy and guidance were always at the disposal of his brother Princes. A ruler who cherished the traditions of his race, he typified in a marked degree the ancient Hindu ideas of Kingship. His death is a great loss to the Order of Princes which we mourn sincerely. I now move the Resolution which reads as follows —

“The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the sad demise of His Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur together with the sense of the loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes and offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved family.”

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna: I second it

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

His Excellency the Viceroy: The resolution has been moved and seconded—the resolution of condolence on the death of His late Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur. I do not think it is necessary to put it to vote as it has been passed standing.

Agendum No. 2.

Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar to His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses, It is my pleasant duty as Chancellor of this Chamber to welcome to our ranks His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur. His Highness who succeeded to his State at an early age assumed full power of Government, at the end of his minority only a few months ago. I am sure that with the liberal education he has received and with the example of his distinguished predecessors always before him, he will maintain undiminished the honour and glory of his House. In his State, he will no doubt have much to do as each one of us has his first duty to the State which Providence has entrusted to his care. But this Chamber opens to him a wider horizon and provides him with the opportunity of serving his brother Princes. I feel convinced that His Highness will be a source

of strength to our Order, taking his legitimate share in the work of this Chamber with all the zest and keenness of his youth. We extend to him a cordial welcome.

I now move the Resolution which reads as follows:—

“The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur on his assumption of powers and welcomes him in its midst wishing him a long and prosperous reign.”

His Highness the Raja of Mandi: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, It is with great pleasure that I rise to second the resolution moved by His Highness the Chancellor welcoming His Highness of Bilaspur to this Narendra Mandal. My pleasure is enhanced by the fact that the Prince to whom we are extending a cordial welcome is my esteemed neighbour and our Houses have been in friendly alliance for a good many years. He has already by his affability of temper and goodness of disposition won the regard of all who have come in contact with him. The task of a Ruler which was never very easy before is becoming as time advances more and more difficult, but I am sure, fitted as His Highness is, by education and temperament to shoulder his great responsibilities, he would not only prove a wise and sympathetic Ruler but would also maintain the dignity and traditions of this Chamber and prove a great asset to our Order. With these words I wholeheartedly associate myself with the resolution and commend it to Your Highnesses for acceptance.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Again I need hardly ask you to vote on the resolution. May I take it that it is passed unanimously?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

Agendum No. 3.

To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I have the honour to present to Your Highnesses my report on the work of the Chamber of Princes during the last year.

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes as Your Highnesses are no doubt aware, was during this year, as in the previous two years, fully occupied with the work of the Round Table Conference and the various important matters arising from it. Though the Princes on the Standing Committee did not proceed to London last year, most of their time and attention was claimed by and devoted to federal problems.

In the circumstances only one formal meeting of the Standing Committee was held during the year under review. Besides the agenda of the present meeting of the Chamber of Princes and dates for the next meeting of the Standing Committee, the following subjects were discussed:—

- (i) Censorship over Telegrams,
- (ii) Construction of Dams;
- (iii) Compensation for mail robberies,
- (iv) Special Service Officers for the Indian States Forces required on mobilization,
- (v) Attachment of Liaison Officers to Indian States Forces in cases of disturbances.

In regard to the question of Censorship over telegrams, Your Highnesses were informed last year that it was the intention of the Standing Committee to discuss the matter informally with His Excellency the Viceroy. Accordingly, it was mentioned to His Excellency when Their Highnesses met him in Simla in September 1932. In view of the present position which arises from British Indian Legislation and the difficulties in the way of amending it to suit our requirements, it has been suggested that the question can be more advantageously taken up after the establishment of a federal constitution.

The question of the compensation to be paid for injuries caused by the bursting of Dams in British India or in Indian States has been practically settled. The summary which has been revised in the light of the joint discussion between the Officers of the Government of India and our own representatives was generally approved by the Standing Committee subject to further elucidation on a few points of minor importance.

According to the existing Mail Robbery Rules, as Your Highnesses might be aware, when a robbery is committed in any State, that State is required to pay "the full value of whatever is taken or destroyed by the robbers" and also "such compensation as the British Government requires to carriers of the mail and other persons, or their families in the event of the carrier or the other persons being injured or killed in connection with the robbery". It is now proposed to modify these Rules on more suitable lines and the question has been entrusted to a Committee of Ministers for examination.

In regard to Air Navigation, Your Highnesses will remember that last year you gave your general approval to the summary placed before Your Highnesses on this question.

Subsequently, however, following two points were brought to the notice of the Standing Committee —

- 1 Compensation to Indian States for sites for aerodromes where they are made and managed by the British Indian Government;
2. Landing and other fees payable by Air craft landing on
 - (a) Aerodromes made and managed by Indian States, and
 - (b) Aerodromes made and managed by the British Indian Government on sites provided by Indian States

The question has been further discussed with the Political Secretary to the Government of India and I am glad to be able to inform Your Highnesses that on both these points satisfactory agreement has been reached.

In regard to the first point it has been agreed that the question of the liability for the cost of acquisition, preparation and maintenance of aerodromes is one for negotiation in each particular case.

As regards the second point, landing and housing fees are collected by the proprietor of the aerodrome. If the Government have paid for the aerodrome and its construction, landing and housing fees belong to them; but if the State or a private individual has established the aerodrome, they collect the fees for its use.

Discussion on the questions relating to—

- (i) Special Service Officers in the Indian States Forces required on mobilization; and
- (ii) Attachment of Liaison Officers to the Indian States Forces in cases of civil disturbance,

was postponed to a later date and I hope that during this year the Standing Committee will be able to arrive at some satisfactory agreement on these questions

The question of the retrocession of jurisdiction over railway lands by the Government of India in so far as it affects the carrying of arms by State subjects in trains, has been the subject of further negotiation between the Political Secretary and the Chancellor and as a result, the Government of India are now prepared to provide in the Arms Rules in force in the administered areas concerned that a certificate issued by a special State Official to State subjects for carrying arms within railway land situated in the territory of the State concerned shall have the effect of a license granted under the Rules, provided, that (a) the specified State Official shall be one holding a position of responsibility corresponding to that of District Magistrate in British India, and (b) the certificate granted by such Official shall exempt the holder from prosecution under the Arms Act only for journeys which are performed wholly within the borders of the State concerned and which in no way cross the borders of that State.

The question of the enlargement of the Chamber of Princes by the granting of full membership to some of the Rulers who are now represented through elected members is being carefully examined by a Special Committee

Apart from the above, the Political Secretary discussed the following matters informally with the Standing Committee:—

- (i) Draft of the International Conventions on the treatment of foreigners and the question of the inclusion of the Indian States within its scope,
- (ii) General procedure to be adopted in regard to consulting Indian States in the matter of their accession to International Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations or otherwise;
- (iii) The question of the accession of Indian States to the protocol on Arbitration Clauses (1923) and the Conventions on the execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards (1927);
- (iv) Question of seating arrangements of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at Viceregal Investitures,
- (v) Amendment of the Resolution regarding the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry so as to make clear provisions for the suspension of powers of a Ruler or his absence from the State during the enquiry,
- (vi) Question of reservation of a portion of British Empire Building at New York for Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India for the exhibition of Indian Art

In regard to the convention relating to the treatment of foreigners the Standing Committee have expressed themselves in favour of the States being included within the scope of the Convention. But it has been emphasised that the matter is one for decision by individual States

In regard to the question of procedure to be in consulting Indian States in the matter of their accession to International Conventions it has been expressed on behalf of the Standing Committee that where the internal administration of the State is affected their views should be previously ascertained before the representatives of India at the League accept them on behalf of the States, and if such previous consultation is not possible, the States should be provisionally exempted from the operation of the Convention and the matter should be referred immediately to the Standing Committee, and also individually to the States concerned.

The protocol on Arbitration Clauses and the Convention on the execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, the Standing Committee has recommended, should be signed on behalf of the States, provided that

- (a) the right is reserved for India of denouncing either the protocol, or the Convention after giving due notice under article (7) of the protocol; and
- (b) the right of Arbitration is confined strictly to commercial contracts

In regard to the question of seating arrangements at Investitures, the Political Secretary has been informed that the Standing Committee are not in favour of the proposed change and prefer the present arrangements to continue, that is to say, the Princes should sit in territorial groups in accordance with their dynastic position

The question of the amendment of the Resolution regarding the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry was fully discussed and it was finally agreed that the Standing Committee should themselves prepare proposals for modifications in and additions to the present Resolution

In regard to the reservation of a portion of the British Empire Building at New York for Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, for the exhibition of Indian Art, it has been agreed that the Chancellor should circulate a proposal to Your Highnesses, and I hope, in due time, necessary action will be taken in this behalf.

The questions relating to Paramountcy, Honours and Dignity of the Rulers have been further examined and His Highness the Ruler of Bhopal, who undertook negotiations in regard to these questions last year, as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, was authorised by the Standing Committee to continue these negotiations this year also. I would express my sincere thanks on behalf of the Standing Committee, in which I hope all of Your Highnesses will join me, to His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal for his very able and tactful handling of these important questions

I desire to take this opportunity to express on behalf of all my colleagues on the Standing Committee our sense of obligation to His Excellency the President for the consideration and sympathy which have marked all his dealings with the Chancellor and the Standing Committee

My thanks are due to His Highness the Maharao Sahib of Cutch, the Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber, who so ably guided the work of the Standing Committee as Acting Chancellor during the period of my absence in England

I should be failing in my duty if I did not express my thanks to the Honourable Sir Charles Watson and the Political Department for the courtesy and consideration with which they have collaborated with us in the work of the Chamber

His Excellency the Viceroy: I think I had better inform Your Highnesses that you may be surprised if there is no vote of thanks to His Highness The Chancellor for his most interesting report on the doings of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes during the past year. But, I wish to inform you that there will be a vote of thanks to His Highness The Chancellor towards the end of the session, and I am sure that I speak for myself, for the Political Department and, I think, for all Your Highnesses, when I wish to express personally our sincere thanks for his most interesting and informing report this morning.

Agendum No. 4.

To receive from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar the report of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: I think the Report* is generally put on the table I will circulate it

Before moving that the Report of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, as our representative on the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations, which is placed on the table, be taken as read, I desire to place on record the thanks of this House for the work he did in our interest and in the interests of India at Geneva. When two years ago, it was decided that the States should in future be represented at such International Conferences as the League of Nations, by Ministers rather than by Princes, there were some who doubted the wisdom of such a procedure. The record of Sir Prabhashankar's work at the League, where he took an effective and leading part on many important Committees affords sufficient proof of the wisdom of the decision. In another respect also Sir Prabhashankar's selection was important. Till the last year, the selection of the States' representatives at such Conferences was made without direct consultation with the Standing Committee. On our representation, His Excellency was pleased to agree last year that before nominating the representatives of Indian States to such International Assemblies, the wishes of the Princes should be consulted through the Chancellor and the Standing Committee. It is naturally not surprising that the selection should have fallen on Sir Prabhashankar Pattani. As the doyen of Indian State Ministers and as one specially trusted and held in esteem by the Princes, Sir Prabhashankar was in every way the most suitable selection that could have been made. The wide experience and mature wisdom which we brought to bear on the problems with which he was confronted were, I have reason to believe, of great value to the Indian Delegation. He has fully maintained the high standard of international statesmanship which such a succession of distinguished Rulers like His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala set for the representatives of Indian States at Geneva and we have every reason to be grateful to him for thus adding to the prestige of India and our States. I am sure I am only voicing the general opinion of this Chamber of Princes in expressing our thanks to Sir Prabhashankar Pattani.

* Appendix.

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani's great services to the Indian States as well as to India in general are too well known to require enumeration. I feel that in these critical times we are fortunate indeed to have his energies at our disposal. He is a States' man heart and soul, and in every thing that he does he puts the interests of the States first

I need say no more, Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, beyond again laying emphasis upon the great personal gratification which it affords me to propose the resolution for Your Highnesses' acceptance I therefore move that—

“This Chamber places on record its appreciation of the work done by Sir Prabhashankar Pattani as the representative of the States on the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations, 1932.”

His Highness the Maharao of Outch: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I cordially support the resolution moved by His Highness the Chancellor, conveying the thanks of the Chamber to Sir Prabhashankar Pattani for his services in representing the interests of the States at the last League of Nations Assembly I am not sure whether this is the first time that we in this Chamber have recorded a vote of thanks to Sir Prabhashankar Pattani but I am sure that this is not the first occasion upon which our thanks to him are due Throughout a long and honourable career he has consistently striven to advance the interests of the States, with whose cause he is identified by traditions, by birth and by experience; and his work is a source of legitimate pride not only to his own State, and to Kathiawad, but to many others of us in this Chamber

I have been myself a representative of the Indian States on the Assembly of the League of Nations, and I know how arduous is the work involved by an Assembly Session In this work Sir Prabhashankar played his full part I observe with pleasure from his report that the financial acumen, to which the flourishing condition of Bhavnagar now testifies, has been used with advantage in order to persuade the League to much-needed economies

I will not trespass further upon the time of the Chamber by enumerating the other activities with which Sir Prabhashankar Pattani concerned himself at Geneva, but will content myself with seconding the resolution of thanks, and of commending it to the acceptance of the Chamber.

His Excellency the Viceroy: The resolution proposed by His Highness the Chancellor expresses our thanks to Sir Prabhashankar Pattani regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations.

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

The meeting then adjourned.

APPENDIX.

Report of the work done by Sir Prabhashankar D. Pattani, as the Princes representative on the Indian Delegation to the thirteenth 'Ordinary' Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations held at Geneva from the 26th September to the 17th October, 1932

To—His Highness MAHARAJA JAM SAHIB of NAWANAGAR, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.,
Chancellor, Chamber of Princes.

YOUR HIGHNESS,

I beg to submit the report of the thirteenth 'Ordinary' Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations held at Geneva from the 26th of September to the 17th of October, 1932, at which I had the honour to represent the Indian States as a member of the Indian Delegation. First of all, I must express my profound gratitude to Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee for recommending my name and to His Excellency the Viceroy for nominating me as Your Highnesses' representative on the delegation. It was with great diffidence that I accepted that invitation especially as I was well aware of the very high standard which my predecessors from Your Highnesses' illustrious Order had set in the work at the League.

This year's Delegation was constituted as follows —

- 1 His Highness the Agha Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.
- 2 Sir Denys Bray
- 3 Myself
- 4 Sir Jehangir Coyaji, Kt, substitute Delegate.

A full and detailed report of the work of the Indian Delegation has been submitted to the Rt Hon the Secretary of State for India. I am confining myself in this report to those matters which are of special interest to the States. Your Highness will be gratified to know that India was fully represented in the five main Committees between which the work of the League is distributed. These Committees together with the name of the representatives elected to work on each of them are given below —

Committee No. 1 (Legal questions)

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, and
Sir Denys Bray

Committee No. 2 (Technical organisations)

Sir Jehangir Coyaji.

Committee No. 3 (Whose function is to deal with disarmament questions was not constituted).

Committee No. 4 (Budget and Secretariat)

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani

Committee No 5 (Social and Humanitarian)

Sir J. Coyaji.

Committee No 6 (Political)

Sir Denys Bray and

Sir Prabbhashanker Pattani.

I was also elected to serve on the Credentials Committee, the body charged with the duties of examining the credentials of delegates

The first Committee which deals with legal and constitutional questions discussed the problem of the nationality of women, a subject which is of considerable importance to the Indian States. This question had been raised once before at the Hague Conference on the Codification of International Law in 1930, when a convention was signed on behalf of all the members of British Commonwealth except New Zealand (which was not represented) which included the following articles —

ARTICLE 8 If the national law of the wife causes her to lose her nationality on marriage with a foreigner, this consequence should be conditional on her acquiring the nationality of the husband

ARTICLE 9 If the national law of the wife causes her to lose her nationality upon a change in the nationality of her husband occurring during marriage, this consequence shall be conditional on her acquiring her husband's new nationality

ARTICLE 10 Naturalisation of the husband during the marriage shall not involve a change in the nationality of the wife except with her consent

This convention was signed on behalf of India with a reservation as regards its application to the Indian States. Sufficient ratifications of the convention have not been deposited to bring it into force and no member of the British Commonwealth has yet ratified it. As marriages of subjects of Indian States with people of other nationality are not infrequent, this, I venture to submit, is a matter which should be carefully examined by Your Highnesses. The Report of the Committee included the following recommendations —

“The Conference recommends to States the study of the question whether it would be possible—

- (1) to introduce into their law the principle of equality of the sexes in matters of nationality taking particularly into consideration the interest of the children; and
- (2) to establish that in principle the nationality of the wife shall henceforth not be effected without her consent either by the mere fact of marriage or by any change in the nationality of her husband.”

It is necessary to state here that the Government of India have notified the League that they would be prepared to ratify the convention as soon as the necessary domestic legislation has been passed, subject to the reservation as regards its application to the Indian States which was originally made when the convention was signed on behalf of India.

SECOND COMMITTEE—

The main question which this Committee discussed which is of interest to India was that of health organisation. Sir J. Coyaji who represented India on this Committee spoke on the value of its work and on its importance to India and other eastern countries. He singled out as an item of special interest for India the proposed establishment of an international centre for Malarial studies for the East at Singapore and welcomed it warmly as indicating the growing interest of the League in the problems relating to the East. He also paid a tribute to the beneficent activities of the League in connection with rural hygiene. The study of this topic is of the highest value especially to the agricultural countries and he expressed the hope that its activities will soon be extended to India and the other Asiatic countries. Another subject of importance dealt with by this Committee was related to economic and financial organisations. In this connection Sir J. Coyaji moved the following resolution —

“The second Committee expresses the wish that the economic organisation of the League of Nations should continue to follow closely and support the work of the International Committee on inter-co-operative relations and it should endeavour, in collaboration with the International Labour Office to find the best means of making available to those concerned the information collected for this Committee relating to the progress of co-operation in the different countries.”

The object of this resolution was the publication by the League of a periodical review of the progress of co-operation in the world so that it might perform for this important subject the same service as it is performing in connection with Banking, International Trade and Public Finance. Sir J. Coyaji's lucid and learned speech on this question was greatly appreciated. The resolution was supported by Mr Jules Gautier, (France), and also by the delegates from Japan, China, Persia, Greece, Hungary, Ireland and Bulgaria and was passed by the Committee.

To an agricultural country like India and especially to the States such a periodical review of co-operative activities in advanced countries by the League of Nations would be of the greatest help.

The fourth Committee on which I was the representative of India had a very heavy Agenda and in consequence it had often to sit in the morning, afternoons and sometimes late at night. The Committee devoted four days to a general discussion on the activities of the League in past years and on the budget. The debate was marked by a lively appreciation of the seriousness of the financial situation of the League as indicated by the auditor's remarks in his report on the accounts for 1931. From this report it was clear that the financial situation of the League of Nations had become serious in 1931 and the payment of contributions due by the States had proceeded even more slowly than in the previous years, the arrears of contributions amounting very nearly to 19 million gold Francs. It had been suggested that in view of the financial difficulties of the League and of general depression the salaries of the officials should be reduced by 10 to 15 per cent. But the Supervisory Commission to which this question was submitted held the view that on the general grounds of disability attaching to expatriation, of the very special qualifications required for service in the League of Nations and of the necessity that the staff should be relieved of pecuniary pressure, the reduction

should not be effected. It was also urged that as the officials possess contractual rights in regard to their salaries the Assembly did not have the right of reducing it without their consent. I had occasion to speak on this question and urged before the Committee the necessity of curtailing the activities of the League at any rate until the world conditions improved. The distinction in the matter of retrenchment between the temporary and permanent economy was also emphasised. As in the previous years the Indian Delegation drew the attention of the authorities to the inadequate representation of India in the Secretariat specially to the fact that not one Indian Mohammedan was employed in any capacity in the League. In view, however, of the fact that the demand for retrenchment was very strong and also of the economic difficulties facing the league, we did not consider it desirable to press the point directly this year, but had to be content with the suggestion that when conditions improve this question should not be lost sight of.

The fifth Committee which deals with social and humanitarian work had on its Agenda a question of great interest to the Indian States, *viz.*, Traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. The convention for the limitation of the manufacture of narcotic drugs of 1931 has not yet come into force as the necessary number of ratifications has not yet been deposited in the League Office. This year, however, the Delegations of a large number of States including Italy, France, Germany, United Kingdom, Japan, Switzerland, declared their intention to ratify the convention with least possible delay. The Indian States being vitally interested in the question of opium production will note with interest the attitude taken up by the delegation of Czechoslovakia in the Committee. The representatives of that country declared that its government could not view this question purely as a social problem. The opium poppy had been cultivated in the southern part of Czechoslovakia for centuries past and this cultivation required a special soil in which it was difficult to grow anything else. The economic interest of the producers of opium had to be taken into consideration and the Government of Czechoslovakia therefore could not ratify the convention until the relation between the production and sale of opium had been regulated with due regard both for humanitarian principles and for the legitimate interests of the producers. It is not necessary for me to emphasise that this is the attitude which the Indian States have taken from the beginning and have pressed on the Government of India. It is hoped that in view of the attitude taken up by Czechoslovakia on this question the Government of India will also consider the interests of the opium cultivators in the Indian States before ratifying the convention. The delegates of China, Spain and Italy suggested that the conference which is being summoned to consider the possibility of limiting and controlling the cultivation of opium poppy should not lose sight of the fact that its ultimate object was to limit production of raw opium to quantities absolutely necessary for medical and scientific needs. This was very strongly opposed by the delegation of India who expressed the opinion that the production of raw opium should be limited to legitimate needs.

The sixth Committee which deals with political matters dealt with the question of admission of Iraq and termination of the mandatory régime in that country. The sub-committee appointed to consider the request for admission of Iraq found that the conditions for admission of new members to the League had been fulfilled by that country and therefore recommended

its admission. Sir Denys Bray who moved the adoption of the report emphasised the interest felt by Muslims in India and by Indians in general on the admission of another Muslim and Asiatic State into the League

The work of this year's session of the League of Nations was mainly of a routine character, due to the fact that the two outstanding questions, the problem of disarmament and the Sino-Japanese difficulty in Manchuria did not come before the Assembly. None the less it registered continued progress in the activities of the League's varied organisations specially in the field of human welfare and international co-operation. The extension of the activities of the League to the countries of Asia is a matter of vital importance and we were very greatly impressed with the genuine desire of the League in this connection.

The Indian Delegation is greatly indebted to His Highness the Agha Khan whose wide experience and statesmanship were assets of great value. He had already served on the Disarmament Conference, while Sir Denys Bray and Sir J. Coyaji had direct experience in the work of the League. The continuity which was thus secured was of great importance to the delegation.

The social activities of the League were greatly curtailed this year owing to the worldwide economic depression as also owing to the lengthening shadow of the Manchurian cloud. But the normal activity of the League on which its usefulness mainly depends was not seriously hampered by these difficulties and I am glad to be able to report to Your Highness that India could legitimately claim to have shouldered her share of the responsibility of the work of international understanding and goodwill for which the League stands.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.*The 25th March, 1933*

The Chamber assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 A.M. on Saturday, the 25th March, 1933. His Excellency the Viceroy presided

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present —

Central India.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior).	The Raja of Sarla
His Highness the Raja of Jhabua	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar	His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.
His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi.	His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur	His Highness the Nawab of Tonk.
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.	

Punjab States.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur	His Highness the Raja of Mandi.
The Nawab of Loharu.	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.	His Highness the Raja of Suket.

Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur.
His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra.	His Highness the Thakor Saheb of Palitana.
His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanganagar.	His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.

Bombay.

His Highness the Nawab of Cambay.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rajppla.
The Maharana of Danta.	His Highness the Raja of Sangli.
The Chief of Phaltan.	

Bihar and Orissa.

The Raja of Dhenkanal	The Raja of Talcher
The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.	

Central Provinces.

The Raja of Korea.	The Raja of Surguja.
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Punjab.

The Raja of Kalsia.	The Raja of Baghat.
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United Provinces.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.	His Highness the Raja of Tehri-Garhwal.
His Highness the Nawab of Rau pur.	

Agendum No. 5.

To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar regarding the work of the Indian States' Delegation to the Third Round Table Conference.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It is now my duty to summarise for the information of this House the work which was done at the last Round Table Conference, and to estimate, so far as I am able to do so, the position of affairs today.

When Your Highnesses did me the honour to elect me as your Chancellor for the year which has just expired, you conferred upon me a definite mandate. This mandate was set forth in the Resolutions of the formal and informal meetings of Your Highnesses last March; and it took the shape of a series of propositions the acceptance of which was a condition of the States' entry into the federal scheme. Throughout my term of office I have rigidly adhered to this mandate; and it is from the standpoint of the propositions to which Your Highnesses assented last year, that I would ask you to judge of the present position in regard to federation.

When the announcement was made of the holding of the Third Round Table Conference, Your Excellency and my colleagues on the Standing Committee were good enough to request me to prolong my stay in England where I had gone to recuperate after my illness in India, in order that I might have the opportunity of discharging, so far as I was able, the responsibilities laid upon me. I devoted the whole of my time during the summer, autumn, and early winter of 1932 to a study of the problems of federation, as well as to a detailed investigation of the conditions which must be fulfilled, before the mandate given to me by Your Highnesses could be successfully carried into effect.

I have no doubt, like the majority of Your Highnesses, I started on my work with a strong predisposition in favour of federation. The federal form of government seems at first sight well suited to India; providing as it does the means of establishing a joint administration of all-India matters while reserving to the States and Provinces the control of their local affairs. But it soon became plain to me that the form of federation which His Majesty's Government have in mind for India will differ from all modern federations in one important particular. Those federations of which history knows have been founded upon one single set of political ideas; with one exception republican, and democratic. But in the case of India, His Majesty's Government are relying upon the Indian States, with their essentially monarchic politics, to contribute the necessary elements of stability and experience. Now quite plainly, the States cannot make this contribution effectively, unless they are themselves left strong and stable. It is, therefore, the underlying assumption in the minds both of His Majesty's Government and of all the three political parties in Great Britain that the monarchical form of government in the Indian States must be effectively maintained under the new conditions. For my own part, I feel that it is very unfortunate that the realization of British India's political ambitions should have been made contingent upon the acceptance of a particular type of Federation by the Indian States. I do not see that there

is any logical connection between the two matters. I have nothing but the friendliest and most brotherly sentiments for British India, and I wish her leaders well. I hope that she will attain her aspirations, but I hope she will do this without involving the States in her own troubles. For the present I can only judge of the situation as it now exists; and the fact that the proposed Federal Scheme depends upon the intimate co-operation of two incompatible systems means that we have to scrutinise the proposed federal scheme from two distinct points of view. In the first place we have to see whether the form of the Constitution is such as to protect the States in the enjoyment of their sovereignty and to secure for them that influence which is their due. In the second place we have to consider whether the tendencies to which the new Constitution will give rise are such as to preserve in effective form the ancient ideals and institutions of Indian monarchy, upon which the strength and stability of the States, and their utility in the new Constitution will alike depend.

I will now deal with the first head. On the basis of the Resolutions, *Sine qua non*s and *Safeguards* which we laid down last year, there are three essential points which the Constitution must secure, if it is to be safe for us to join. The first is that it should contain the safeguards necessary to preserve the States from the risk of being gradually swallowed up, for in federal constitutions, the Centre tends to swallow the federating units. If we look at the history of the United States of America, we shall see that the power of the Federal Government has been steadily increasing at the expense of the power of the States. Yet the American Constitution not merely protects State Rights in clear terms but provides a Supreme Court to interpret these rights and to preserve them from encroachment. Nevertheless in the 150 years of the working of the American Federation, the Federal Government has become stronger and the States weaker, and the Federal Court which was intended to protect the States from encroachment upon their rights has by its decisions been instrumental in increasing the power of the Federal Government. And I would ask Your Highnesses to remember that in America, Canada, Australia and other federations, there is only one political idea—Democracy, by which the Centre and the Units have been alike animated. So there has been no opposition between two governmental systems, as there will be in the Indian Scheme; and the Centre and Units were expected to work without serious rivalry. But they have not done so. Conflicts have arisen between them; and the Centre has won the day. If this struggle happens where there is no inherent conflict of political ideas between the Centre and the Units, what will happen when Monarchy and Democracy have their strongholds in the Units and in the Centre respectively? Will not the conflict be even more bitter; the growth of the Centre at the expense of the Units even more rapid and aggressive than in other Federations?

Now there is really no provision in the Federal Constitution which has been proposed for our acceptance in the White Paper, so far as we have knowledge at present, which will effectively protect us from this kind of encroachment. Even assuming that the Federal Court is not inspired by ideas of centralisation; assuming that it does what no other Federal Court in history has done, and effectively protects the rights of the Units against the Centre; even then it will not suffice to safeguard our position, for it cannot protect us against the day-to-day policy, democratic in inspiration, of an Administration and a Legislature, in which we shall be in a minority.

We gladly admit that the Viceroy will do his best to protect us in our Treaty Rights. Perhaps if every Viceroy were as staunch and as true a friend of the States as our President, we should be protected effectively. At least we know full well that Your Excellency would strain every nerve to see that our just rights were not infringed. We gladly recognise this, My Lord; and we tender to you our warmest and most heartfelt thanks for your steady friendship and for your wise statesmanship. But alas! Lord Willingdon will not occupy his exalted Office for ever. We have, I submit very respectfully, to look ahead. Is the future Viceroy likely to resist effectively, even if he is able to resist at all, democratic pressure from British India? But indeed, after the lapse of a very few years, will any Viceroy be able to help us, even if he wants to? Point, as it seems to me, is lent to these apprehensions by our own past experience. Even when the British Raj was theoretically absolute in British India, its policies were primarily British Indian in conception. We, the States, have suffered from the application to ourselves of policies designed primarily in the interests of British India; and we have suffered economically as well as politically. Now if the force of circumstances has been such as to compel the Crown, while the Crown was both in theory and in practice possessed of full powers, to adopt a British Indian standpoint in framing and executing all-India policy, what must we expect when the Crown parts with an effective portion of its powers in favour of British India? Will not those powers which remain to it be more and more subject to British Indian influence and control? The experience of the world seems conclusive upon this point. Let me quote to Your Highnesses a letter which recently appeared in that great Liberal organ, the *Manchester Guardian* from the pen of no less a constitutional authority than the eminent Dr. Brierley Keith, the best known of all modern writers on the Constitutional Law and Government of the Dominions? Dr. Keith disposes, as it seems to me quite conclusively, of the fallacy that the so-called safeguards in the proposed Constitution can endure; and among these safeguards, be it noted, will be the responsibility laid upon Your Excellency's successors in your exalted office, of safeguarding the effective Sovereignty of the Crown in India as well as of protecting the States. Dr. Keith's references to the experience of Governors-General of other Dominions are, I think it will be apparent, most apposite to the question of the extent to which a Viceroy of India will find it in his power effectively to discharge these vital functions. I proceed, with Your Excellency's permission, to read this letter, which is dated from Edinburgh University on the 10th February—some six weeks ago.

"Those who remember Mr. Lloyd George's assurances as to the Irish Free State, and have witnessed their utter negation in practice, can hardly place much value in those of Sir Samuel Hoare as to India. The Government, in fact, having rejected the solution of the Simon Report, is attempting the impossible—the imposition of effective safeguards on responsible Government. Either safeguards or responsible government must fail. Nor is there much doubt which will go under.

"Sir Samuel Hoare is clearly entirely ignorant of Dominion constitutional history, or he would have remembered the fate of Lord John Russell's conception of responsible Government. Lord John Russell believed in the strong Governor with wide powers. In Canada Metcalfe,

most courageous of men, wore himself out in seeking to exercise his authority, Elgin capitulated forthwith. What Governor General or Governor is prepared to defy the wishes of an Indian Ministry and Parliament, relying on dubious support of the British Government

"The Governor General is to have an army Metcalfe had an army, but it availed him not at all. New Zealand was a feeble colony in 1863 Yet it used the British forces to carry out its unwise policy against Maoris, and the British Government could only withdraw its forces and write idle protests. In 1906—8 Elgin did not even dare withdraw the forces when the Ministry of the insignificant colony of Natal defied him, gravely mismanaged native policy (*which was in theory reserved to the Governor*), and continued martial law against the Governor's protests.

"The Governor General is to have a Civil Service recruited by the Secretary of State But the Government is pledged to the rapid Indianization of that Service, and how can Indians, who will shortly outnumber Europeans, defy the Ministry and Parliament of their own country? If the Ministry and Parliament decide not to pay for British troops or to meet pension or debt charges due in England, how are taxes to be collected against their will? Are British troops to be used to gather in dues from the peasants?

"The British Government has already in effect surrendered any idea of affording real protection to British trade interests, trusting to economic and financial grounds to secure fair treatment It still has the power by a wise constitution of the Legislatures and by using the best elements of the States to create a form of responsible government which, with advice, and aid from the United Kingdom, may work But the idea that it can operate safeguards, defying the Ministry and Parliament is a chimera which will utterly disappoint in practice those unwise enough to accept at their face value the views of the Secretary of State."

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, these are strong words. But they are the words of one who is no politician, espouses no political programme, but is deeply learned in the problems which lie before us I confess that they cause me profound disquiet; for they coincide with certain apprehensions, arising from my own small studies, as to the difficulty of the Crown retaining in the future any effective Sovereignty in India. And the retention by the Crown of this sovereignty; the possession by the Crown's representative of power to preserve the British connection and to defend the treaty position of the States, is the fundamental assumption underlying the whole mandate which you, Your Highnesses, conferred upon me last year. If this assumption is threatened, as plainly it is in the view of Dr Keith, then our *Sine qua non*s and *Safeguards* are valueless, and fall to the ground How indeed can we seriously consider any scheme which is open to such grave objection?

In truth there is no organ in the Federal Constitution which will be able effectively to guard State Rights, and to serve as the stronghold of the aristocratic principle The Federal Court will not help us; the Viceroy cannot, with the best will in the world, do so when the kind of crisis arises which would make his assistance most necessary; namely, on occasions when the policy of the Cabinet and Legislature conflicts with the rights of a State, or with that effective Sovereignty of the Crown in

India upon which we Princes have always laid so much stress. Nor will the Upper House be any more effective, for it will contain a majority of elected representatives from the British Indian Legislatures, and although these representatives may be men of statesmanlike capacity, they will share British Indian ideas of democracy, and will not sympathise with the monarchical ideas of the States.

From this point of view it therefore seems to me that, if we enter the Federation as it is now proposed, we shall in course of time inevitably lose the effective exercise of those rights which, according to the strict letter of the Constitution we think we are preserving.

The next point arising from our *Sine qua non*s and *Safeguards*, which the Constitution must provide is that the Federal Legislature must be of a kind to enable the States to enter it without loss of prestige and political influence. Now we cannot do this if our representatives are in a minority in both Houses, because, from the very beginning of the Federation, if the majority is British Indian, our representatives, whose business it will be to uphold our traditional monarchical principles and to safeguard State Rights, will feel themselves in an inferior position. This feeling of inferiority will reduce their power and their influence, and instead of deriving assistance from their presence in the Legislature, we shall derive only disadvantages, we shall lose our effective political influence in India, and the principle of democracy will be placed in a position in which its complete triumph cannot be long deferred.

The third essential which must be realised, as we made clear in the first two Round Table Conferences, is that there must be no direct taxation of the States by the Federal Government. We know, as the First Peel Committee admits (paragraph 8) that this is not easy to attain, nevertheless we must insist upon it. For if once the Federal Government, in which we shall be in a minority, can tax us directly and for federal purposes, we shall find the level of taxation rising in our States, our subjects will become discontented; and this will be the ruin of the States. And yet according to the proposals put forward for the financial side of this present federation, we are asked to agree to the imposition of a Corporation Tax and Income Tax Surcharges or their equivalents by the Federal Government, and to help to bear the cost of supporting the North-West Frontier Province.

It therefore seems to me that from this first point of view the Constitution does not provide the necessary safeguards which we laid down last year.

I now deal with the second head. It seems to me that the tendencies likely to be set in motion by the proposed Constitution are such as to expose the idea of Indian kingship to severe and unfair attack. The ideals and institutions of our States, if they are to survive, must survive on their own merits, but equally, they must not be placed in a position in which they have no reasonable prospect of survival, even though they deserve to survive. Now it seems to me that the present scheme is based upon the assumption that democratic principles must be fostered and encouraged not only throughout British India but throughout the whole field of the joint management of matters of joint concern. If in this field the principles of democracy and monarchy started on a level, my apprehensions would be less acute than they are. But at the point where the democratic and monarchic principles are thrown into contact most intimately, namely,

in the new Legislatures, the representatives of monarchy are allotted a definitely minority position. It therefore seems to me inevitable that the principle of monarchy will from the first be prejudiced; its upholders will be placed at an unfair disadvantage; and the centralising tendencies to which all federations inevitably give rise, will so operate as to increase the power of the Centre, which must be primarily democratic in inspiration, at the expense of our States, with their monarchical polity. For myself, I cannot help feeling that the constitution as it has emerged from the White Paper will inevitably so work as to destroy at least in its effective form the very principle of Indian kingship, upon the preservation of which the working of the constitution itself admittedly relies. Further, where the power of taxing monarchic units is vested as is now proposed, in the democratic Centre, it is inevitable that before long the level of taxation in the States will rise to the level of taxation in British India. It seems to me very doubtful whether the States can receive from the Federal Centre fair value for the contribution which they will make, but leaving this aside, the effect of raising the taxation level in the States will doubtless render the States administration less popular and make our subjects discontented. Economically, therefore, as well as politically, the monarchical principle will suffer.

His Excellency the Viceroy: It hardly seems to me to be a report of the Third Round Table Conference. It seems to me, (I have allowed His Highness the Chancellor the widest possible latitude in the matter) a personal statement, a statement of the views of His Highness the Chancellor on the proposed constitution. I do not wish to criticise, I do not wish to stop His Highness if he wishes to continue his remarks, but they are purely personal observations, and in no sense a report of the Third Round Table Conference.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Your Excellency, I will obey Your Excellency's ruling. My first paragraph was an estimate, as far as I have been able to do it, of the position of affairs to-day. If Your Excellency does not wish me to continue the report and the conclusions . . .

His Excellency the Viceroy: I am not going to stop Your Highness if you wish to go on. I am only just stating the case as I see it from the Chair.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: I am only stating my views on the findings of the Round Table Conference. May I take it that this be taken as read?

His Excellency the Viceroy: You may do what you like.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: I will carry out whatever you say.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I have already stated that I think that your remarks are going far wider than a report on the Third Round Table Conference. I would only suggest to you to take what action you feel you should.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Day before yesterday, I gave them a much longer report than this, drawing the same conclusions, but not the final conclusions on the findings of the Round Table Conference. But, if Your Excellency does not wish me to read any more, if you think I am not doing the thing which is right, I will stop.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I can only say from the Chair that in my own judgment, this is no report, this is really a speech giving your views of the dangers, the terrible dangers, of a possible federation.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: That is true of the findings of the last Round Table Conference.

His Excellency the Viceroy: If Your Highness is strongly of the opinion that you are keeping within the terms of the Round Table Conference report, I have got nothing more to say. You can continue your speech.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: No, Sir, I respect your ruling.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I am sure we have listened with much interest to what we have heard. With regard to the remarks of His Highness the Chancellor I can only say that, while I have been extremely regretful to cause any inconvenience to His Highness, I do feel that he should have kept entirely within the terms of the report of the Round Table Conference. And from what I have seen—I do not know what Your Highnesses feel—I think His Highness has been producing his own views, very gloomy views if I may say so, with regard to the future Indian federation, which I do honestly feel should not fall from the lips of the Chancellor of this Chamber which has for four years been endeavouring, supporting and assisting in introducing this All-India Federation.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: The federation, Sir, which I supported, was the federation suggested in the First Round Table Conference. Our representatives went away from that, and I parted company. That really, Sir, is what I have to state on that point.

Agendum No. 6.

Resolutions on matters arising out of the White Paper.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses, In commending to the Chamber this resolution, which deals with the important question of Paramountcy, I feel that I can speak quite briefly, for the matter is familiar to Your Highnesses. We have for many years been engaged upon the discussion of this difficult and delicate matter; and long before the appointment of the Butler Committee, we made plain our desire to achieve an equitable and satisfactory settlement of it.

The matter has acquired a new urgency from the fact that the negotiations in regard to Federation are now approaching a crucial stage. From the time of the First Round Table Conference, some of the most respected

and eminent members of our Order, such as Their Highnesses of Bhopal and Bikaner, have made it plain that the settlement of this question in an agreed and equitable fashion was a basic condition of the willingness of themselves and of their colleagues to consider favourably the proposed federal scheme. Your Excellency has already devoted much time and trouble to this matter, and we desire to place on record our grateful appreciation of your sympathetic assistance. We trust, Your Excellency, that you will once again lend us your help, and will impress upon His Majesty's Government the great importance which the members of this Chamber attach to the early settlement of this matter. The resolution which I have the honour to move reads as follows —

"This Chamber while placing on record its conviction of the urgent necessity of arriving at an equitable and satisfactory settlement of the Paramountcy problem by the method of discussion and negotiation between His Excellency the Viceroy and representative Princes of this Chamber, expresses its sincere thanks to His Excellency Lord Willingdon for the sustained and sympathetic interest which he has displayed in the negotiations of the last two years; endorses and affirms the position so far taken up by the representatives of the Princes, emphasises that the main essential to the desired settlement is the determination of justiciable issues by judicial process, and authorises these Princes to continue these negotiations with the sympathetic help of His Excellency."

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses, I beg to second the resolution which has been proposed by His Highness the Chancellor for the acceptance of the House

(The resolution was carried.)

His Excellency the Viceroy: I did not think it right to intervene in this matter before the resolution was passed, but as my name has been brought in at the very end of it, I think it is only right that I should give my views on this particular matter of paramountcy and, particularly, with reference to the resolution itself. I give my views which are well-known, if I may say so, to His Highness the Chancellor and the Members of the Standing Committee, but I think they should also be known to Your Highnesses who are assembled in this Chamber. I want perfectly frankly to tell you what I think the purpose and effect of this resolution would be. I think that it would take away very many matters which are now matters of close negotiation between the Viceroy and the Rulers and hand them over to what I think in the resolution is called "the determination of justiciable issues by judicial process". It means presumably that all these matters, which have been hitherto matters of negotiation between the Viceroy and the Ruler are now to be handed over to some form of tribunal or other. I can only say, with regard to this, that I do feel, and I feel it very strongly and I have expressed it to the Standing Committee before now, that the effect of this resolution will be to lessen the personal ties between the Viceroy and the Ruler. It will practically leave close association only in dynastic matters and not matters with reference to any difficulties or trouble in his particular State. All other matters—it seems to me the wish of Your Highnesses—should be transferred to some court. I regret that, I say quite frankly, for I feel

that the greatest assurance of security and sovereignty of the Ruler of any State is the ties which he has for long years held, and which I hope he will hold for many years, between the Viceroy and the Ruler himself. I should like to conclude my observations by making this remark on the concluding portion of the Resolution, namely, "Authorises these Princes to continue these negotiations with the sympathetic help of His Excellency". After you have heard my observations, I think it must be clear to Your Highnesses that while I shall have the greatest sympathy for Your Highnesses in every matter that comes to my notice, I am afraid in this particular matter you cannot expect my very sympathetic help.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses, The resolution which I have the honour to move reads as follows —

"This Chamber places on record its strong opinion that the entry of the Princes into Federation depends upon the inclusion in the constitution and the treaties of accession, of the essential safeguards for which the States have consistently pressed. They are prepared to authorise their representatives to carry on further negotiations in London with the object of securing all the safeguards essential for the protection of the States and for the preservation of their sovereignty and autonomy, and with the object of assisting in framing a scheme which would assure such measure of general agreement as may be necessary to ensure the stability and smooth working of the new constitution."

This resolution embodies a declaration of the policy of this Chamber, on the important constitutional questions now before the Country.

The attitude underlying this resolution, I submit, is neither new nor unreasonable. From the First Round Table Conference, the representatives of the Princes have repeatedly made it clear that the Princes would enter an All-India Federation, provided the completed picture is acceptable, and secures to them sufficient safeguards and guarantees to preserve their position, treaties and autonomy, and to enable them, under the new Scheme, to effectively discharge their triple obligations to the Crown, to India, and to the States. This has consistently been the main plank of our policy with regard to Federation, and we trust that all reasonable sections of public opinion in India and England will appreciate the wisdom and the fairness of this position of the Princes.

Your Excellency, we have, as far as possible within the last few days, given most anxious consideration to the White Paper. We appreciate the good points which it contains, but we are constrained to say that there are many omissions in it which we would have liked to be filled specifically, and there are certain items which we wish had not been included.

Your Excellency, the omission in the White Paper of some of the fundamental safeguards, which we have consistently pressed, evoked a substantial body of opinion in certain quarters, that the Scheme worked out in the White Paper, as it stands, should be summarily rejected. Your Excellency has, however, by your accommodating statesmanship, through your remarks in the Inaugural Address to the Chamber, that the White Paper did not embody the complete or final picture, and that many

things not incorporated in it could be pressed for inclusion later, averted, what at one time seemed almost a crisis. Moreover, the Indian Princes are profoundly conscious of their grave responsibility at this juncture, to the Empire, to their Motherland, and to their own States. Accordingly, we have, as stated in this resolution, stuck to, and reiterated, our original position. We declare, as we have already declared more than once, that, with all our goodwill towards His Majesty's Government and towards our compatriots of British India, our entry into Federation depends upon the inclusion in the Constitution and the treaties of accession, of the essential safeguards which we have consistently pressed. These safeguards are not intended, as some of our uncharitable critics have propagated, to set up impossible conditions. They are reasonable essentials which alone can make it possible for the States to preserve their integrity and to contribute their best towards the ordered progress of a Federated India. These safeguards have been worked out in detail at our various formal and informal meetings, and have been reconsidered at our recent informal meetings. They will, in due course, be placed before the Joint Select Committee by the witnesses who will appear on our behalf, and, by our representatives, who will work with the Joint Parliamentary Committee. In the main, they may be classified as follows —

- (a) respect for the autonomy, sovereignty and treaty rights of the States;
- (b) limitation of Federal sources of revenue, to indirect taxes only;
- (c) liberty of action for the States to enter Federation individually or collectively through a Confederation

We have every hope that, the representatives of the British nation in the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and our countrymen from British India, who will sit with our representatives, will, on a dispassionate analysis, find it possible to bless and support our various safeguards. To secure this objective, as the resolution states, we are prepared to send our representatives to London. Moreover, we are sending them there to assist in framing a Scheme which may carry such measure of general agreement as may make it worth while for the responsible elements in British India and the Indian States, to work it together in a Joint Partnership, under the ægis of the British Crown.

With these remarks, I beg to move the resolution standing in my name.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I wish to rise to support the resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala just now.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, It is with the greatest pleasure that I rise to support the Resolution moved by my friend His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala on this question of such importance to the States. Perhaps, Sir, in expressing the pleasure which I feel at the proposal—which I earnestly hope will be welcomed and passed by this Chamber—to conduct further negotiations, this would be considered by Your Excellency not to be an unsuitable opportunity for me to say a few words upon this very big question, now before us. I, with His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, who was then Chancellor, and His Highness of Bhopal, were the three Princes in the

First Round Table Conference in 1930-31, who were most intimately connected with the proposals evolved at that Conference, when the States, subject to certain essential safeguards and conditions—which I believe have never been considered unreasonable—expressed their willingness to consider entering Federation

I beg Your Highnesses on this occasion not to be premature in any views that you may form, or have formed, on what after all is admittedly incomplete material and a picture which has yet to have several details painted and fitted in. I am the last to urge any one, Princes or Ministers, blindly to commit themselves to support each and every detail of the Federation, or indeed the whole Scheme of Federation, so far as the Indian States are concerned.

But I do submit that, even with the substantial progress that has been made during the sessions of the Third Round Table Conference, and upon the details which have been now elucidated by the issue of this White Paper, I do maintain, that even today we are not, as His Excellency the Viceroy has said, in a position to come to any final judgment on the issues involved

We shall be in a position to see clearly and to judge for ourselves when the Joint Parliamentary Committee has dealt with the question, and, what is no less important, when the Bill has been dealt with by Parliament. We have yet to see the provisions of the Treaty of Accession by means of which every State desiring to do so will enter Federation, and I repeat, with all due respect, that the time for our judging one way or the other will be when all that material is before us

I hope I may also be permitted to emphasise one very important aspect which has been heard of lately with special emphasis from certain quarters. We are told of the disastrous consequences of certain Federations and of certain instances relating to such provisions which, if I understood rightly, are said to have had results for the United States of America and Germany. May I respectfully point out that Your Highnesses' representatives at the First Round Table Conference made it absolutely clear that in the case of the proposed Federation of India—which was a federation unique and without parallel, in the world—we need not blindly follow the principles, or the provisions, of any given Constitution. I cannot pretend to be a constitutional expert, or a man who can carry all the provisions of these various constitutions in his head, but if Your Highnesses will refer to the very first meeting of the Sankey Committee, known as the Federal Structure Committee, you will see, amongst other observations, what I pointed out, that we have in India to evolve a special type of Federation to provide, as I have said, for the exceptional conditions prevailing in India, because of the two component parts, which would federate under the ægis of the Imperial Crown; you have on the one hand the Princes, and the States of India, which are already sovereign and autonomous, and you will have, on the other hand, the various Provinces of British India, who are neither sovereign nor autonomous now, who have in the past enjoyed powers by delegation, and who will be made autonomous now by further devolution of powers and evolution

As regards the apprehensions which we can all understand, let no one mistake the attitude which some of us, who have favoured the discussion

of Federation, and who have favoured the continuance of negotiations, took up We have asked the Crown, as responsible for the Indian Empire, and by virtue of our Treaties, to give us specific assurances and guarantees to safeguard the sovereignty and autonomy of our States and to make our entering Federation safe as far as humanly possible.

If Your Highnesses are going to be frightened by the analogy of any other Constitution, might I ask what constitution it was that brought about the downfall of the mighty Czar of Russia, who was an autocrat? If we are afraid of Federation being the cause of democracy coming into our States, are we really serious in thinking that democratic influences of the world and of British India, especially where our States are intermingled, are not already affecting our States, and will not, in an increasing measure, affect our States? Are we going to be frightened, merely of democracy, blindly to come to a decision one way or the other?

May I respectfully submit that, in addition to the guarantees and assurances which we have asked from the Crown in certain matters, the White Paper specifically has provided for such safeguards? There are certain safeguards, which have been considered essential, which have either not been referred to one way, or the other, or which have not been provided for. About these we have drawn up a list of the really important safeguards, and this I understand is being submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy for his support in the matter and communication to His Majesty's Government, who, I am confident, will not treat our demands about safeguards, or our proposals, with contempt, but will give them the greatest consideration. And, finally, there will be automatic provisions in the Constitution debarring the Federal Executive and Government from encroaching upon the sovereignty of the States beyond such details and matters in regard to which we may, by mutual consent, agree to delegate authority to the Crown for the specific purposes of Federation.

Some, I am sorry to say, have gone to the extent—and I absolutely exclude my friend the Chancellor from that—of suggesting that His Highness of Patiala and I and others, are influenced by some personal considerations in regard to Federation. We have been described as eager to federate. I am certainly most eager to federate—if we can come in on satisfactory terms—because I am equally emphatically of the opinion that, if the Princes do not avail themselves of this opportunity, under safeguards, to come into Federation, the position of the States, with all the desire of the Crown and the Viceroy to safeguard our interests, must inevitably become difficult as time goes on, and who is there in the whole of India who will be able to stop the legitimate demands of British India for constitutional progress? When that time comes, and if everything is favourable, and yet if Your Highnesses reject beforehand, any reasonable proposals which are going to better, and not to worsen, our position, the responsibility will lie on those who attempt to precipitate a decision, or who will not wait for the complete picture.

I, therefore, submit to Your Highnesses that the time for our decision is not now but when we have seen the proposals of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and of the Bill; and, in the meanwhile, I therefore welcome the proposal for our responsible Ministers who will be representing us to carry on the negotiations and, with the sympathetic aid of His Excellency which we are assured of, to try and secure all the reasonable and just demands of the States, so as to make our position secure.

I have lately heard certain remarks about some of our representatives having done certain things which they were not entitled to at the Third Round Table Conference. I do not propose to go into details, but I feel it my duty—a duty which, I am sure, will be shared by several of Your Highnesses—that, instead of expressing condemnation, we should realise firstly that they were our representatives carrying on negotiations. I have hardly heard of any mission, where representatives of Government are not entitled to try and secure, by alternative means, some better terms, or equally good terms, and it is then afterwards for them to be repudiated or supported by whoever they are representing. I think that we should be very grateful to all the Ministers, whatever differences of opinion we may have as regards their views, just as we have certain differences of opinion amongst ourselves. At least, we ought not to be hasty in our conclusions as regards their work and their labours which have been carried out so loyally.

Finally, Sir, it gives me very great pleasure to see the provision in the White Paper, which we have been asking for long before Federation became a live issue, and that is, that the relations of the Princes and States are now to be transferred from the Governor General to His Excellency the Viceroy. We desire to come in ever-increasing and closer contact with His Excellency the Viceroy and with the Crown, and I have no doubt that in the future negotiations and the work that lies ahead of us, whether in connection with the question of Federation or other important issues, and in the discussion of them further with Your Excellency, we shall both have cause for satisfaction and feel that the Princes have done their duty not only to their States but to their Motherland and to the Empire. (Applause)

The Raja of Korea: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; The stage has arrived in the scheme of the evolution of federation, when we have before us a tentative outline of the federal constitution embodied in the White Paper. There are safeguards in the White Paper, which we required, and which we pressed for, and there are also certain safeguards which are equally essential, but which do not yet find a place in the White Paper. It is of the greatest importance that the sovereignty of the States and their internal autonomy should be effectively and constitutionally safeguarded in the federal constitution, and it is also necessary that there should be a more satisfactory settlement of certain fiscal and financial problems. These safeguards, Your Excellency, we consider vital to our safety, and as the mover, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has said, if there is not a satisfactory settlement of them it will deter many States from joining the federation. The States have already made, and propose to make, a large sacrifice in parting with a part of their sovereignty, and I think British India will realise that they could not be expected to do more, and that it would be difficult to expect them to give up what they look upon as essential and fundamental safeguards. While the States representatives, through the kind offices of His Majesty's Government in England and Your Excellency's Government here, have made a satisfactory advance in their negotiations and have secured certain safeguards, there is a good deal of work that has yet to be done before the States can pledge themselves to join the federation. We have every confidence and hope in the keen and sympathetic interest Your Excellency has always evinced in the problems of the States, and in your support and championship of our just claims and aspirations, and we feel sure that our difficulties will be satisfactorily solved. As His Highness

the Maharaja of Bikaner has said, I do not think at this stage we need feel alarmed at what is going to happen—not until we have seen the picture in its entirety and satisfied ourselves that what is still wanting in the picture is not going to be put in hereafter. I do not propose to enumerate the safeguards—His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has already indicated them—and I would therefore, without taking any more time of the House, only say that we should patiently work on the scheme, authorise our representatives to carry on negotiations, and secure to us our vital safeguards, and arrive at solutions which will command maximum agreement and secure to all concerned their legitimate interests, and will enable us to play our part in this great imperial venture. With these words I associate myself with the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; Before I proceed with the Resolution that is before us today, I should like very briefly to reiterate the history, which has been explained before in this very Chamber, of how this question of Federation came before us. When we had a conference with His Excellency Lord Irwin and discussed various problems of paramountcy and so forth, the question of Federation did not take a very prominent place. Even in the Simon Commission Report and in the Government of India Despatch on the Simon Commission Report there is only one, or perhaps two, paragraphs regarding Federation referring to it as a remote contingency. But when we started from here—and most of the delegates from the Indian States as well as from British India travelled together on the “Viceroy of India”—several discussions took place with regard to the questions at issue which were going to come before the Round Table Conference, and amongst those was discussed the question of Federation. Propositions were held out before us which would lead to a happy consummation of friendly ideals and ideas between British India ruled by the Crown and the Indian States in treaty relations with His Imperial Majesty. When we arrived in England and we entered the Chamber of the First Round Table Conference, it was very soon made clear to us by all the three parties represented at that Conference, namely the Conservatives, the Liberals and the Labour, the Labour at that time being in Government, that unless the Princes joined in the Federation, there would be very little prospect of British India making any advance. And therefore, we were placed in the position that if we did not discuss, and to some extent, agree on the question of Federation, the Indian States would be made the target against which British India would have a reason to put forward the view that, in their own advance, according to their own methods, in consultation with the Imperial Government and the Government of India, the Indian States were the obstructing force. I do not think that was a very happy position for the Indian States to be placed in. And so, when, after the formal opening by His Majesty the King-Emperor, the discussion began under the presidency of the Prime Minister, and the question came up as to whether there should be a general discussion or whether we should split up into small committees and go into details, I was one of those who stated at the time that it was vitally essential to know the mind of the Conference, to know on what lines we were to work in these sub-Committees and Committees, before we could divide up and embark on executive action. As

a result of this it was decided that we should have a few days of general discussion, and in these general discussions Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as one of the leading and prominent members of British India, appealed to the Indian Princes to come forward at this time in order to assist them to arrive at a solution whereby happy conclusions might be arrived at, and, having their own treaties and powers, not to be obstructionists with regard to the future of British India. Thus in these general discussions which were led by His Highness of Bikaner on the first day—and I followed on the second with His Highness of Bhopal, His Highness of Patiala and others who were present at the First Round Table Conference—almost all of us who were present there, members of the Standing Committee, and others besides who had been invited, important Princes and their representatives, put forward the view that we had no wish to stand in the way of the progress of British India. And then, I will only refer to what I stated. I personally was not very well conversant with Federations, or the technique thereof; I was not an ardent admirer or very well conversant with the details of democratic systems of Governments even within the British Empire, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Newfoundland, South Africa and so forth. I said then that the idea to which I inclined according to my heritage and according to the ideas that had been imbibed by me from my childhood, was that the best system for India was one that has existed here for centuries. I stated that that system which has existed for very many centuries was one of monarchical rule tempered by consultations with Ministers, Councils and so forth, which cannot be described under the name of any 'cracy', autocracy, aristocracy, plutocracy, democracy, or any other 'cracy', because our ancient system was laid down in our ancient books. But nevertheless if British India wanted to advance on these particular lines—and these were my words at the time—and if the Imperial Government, that is the British Government, wanted British India to advance on these lines, we by no means wanted to stand in their way or become obstructionists. We realised the full implication of coming into a Federation. We knew that it might encroach upon certain of our sovereign rights. There might be less justice, less efficiency in administration, but it was our point of view that if British India and the British Government were inclined to that view, then it was not for us to obstruct that path. And I also stated at the time that Federation was a word that did not very much appeal to me, although I hoped and looked forward to a united States of India in relation with the Imperial Crown as the authority over the Empire. I was told some time ago by Mr. Baldwin that this was one of the ideas that had caught. Be that as it may, the question of Federation is one entirely of European conception, and of the Princes who have made themselves very conversant with the details of the system, I doubt very much if even the most conversant of them, if he came face to face with constitutional lawyers who have spent all their lives in studying constitutions and in devising Federations, would not be hopelessly nonplussed in details and in problems connected with Federation. Nevertheless while Federation was to some extent a word for a certain amount of confusion, while Federation even now I believe, and I think I am not entirely wrong, is still a matter of considerable confusion in the minds of many of my brother Princes, the idea is that British India and the Indian States in matters of common concern should come into an organisation, whereby, with the Viceroy assisting them, they would be able to arrive at solutions for the future,

which might lead to the happy goal that lies before my motherland which has been proclaimed publicly, namely Dominion Status for India. Now, when we come to discuss details, I have only had the privilege of being present at the First Round Table Conference. I was not present at the Second and the Third of them, but I attempted to follow the results that accrued from them. I have even had lectures from one professor at Oxford on Federation, and they were very interesting and illuminating, but I cannot claim to have become a pastmaster in the subject. The difference with regard to an Indian federation, as His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has stated, lies in this—and it is very true, and it was in the minds of the British delegation at the Round Table Conference as well as of the Indian delegates—namely, that it is a federation quite different from any that existed in America or elsewhere, or even within His Majesty's Dominions, in Australia, or Canada. We are here bringing together in one common body two entirely different systems of Government—one where democracy is the goal, and the other where the ancient monarchical rule with certain conditions and in treaty relations with the Crown obtains. It has been publicly stated that two such bodies coming together are bound eventually to lead to an explosion. I will not mention any names, but this has been published in the papers, and there is little doubt that the repercussions from the larger part, *viz*, British India, are more likely to affect the other, namely, the Indian States. And therefore it is when the White Paper came out as a result of three years' deliberations at the Round Table Conferences—we only had it in our hands on the 18th instant—that we sat together to work out our propositions and to present before this Chamber our conclusions. The main conclusions, the principal conclusions, that we have been able to put forward, are essential to safeguard our rights, our treaties and alliances with the Crown, our autonomy and our own internal administration. These are questions that have been put forward in the Resolution. These safeguards have been discussed before, they have been presented at the Round Table Conferences, by my brother Princes and their representatives. They have been before the three Round Table Conferences, but they do not all appear in the White Paper, so far as we have been able to learn, and therefore it is that these safeguards are again put forward in the form of a resolution. The Government of India, the Viceroy, and the Imperial Government, are requested to give us the assurance that these are the essential conditions on which States can federate.

Whether federation comes or not, whatever comes or whatever may not come, Your Excellency can rest assured, I am speaking not only on my behalf but on behalf of the Order present here and outside the Chamber, that our adamant loyalty to the Crown remains unchanged and unchallenged.

With regard to the details these are questions that will be discussed by His Imperial Majesty's Government, in the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and eventually in the Parliament itself. There is no knowing what the outcome will be from the Committee or from the Parliament, and therefore it has been rightly stated that the time will come for us to arrive at decisions when the bill passes the Parliament and the Act of Accession comes before the Princes for our consultation and deliberation and signatures. But in the meantime we are putting forward through this resolution such safeguards which States consider, I hope, not unreasonably, as essential for their future existence, for maintaining their integrity which has been vouchsafed to them by numerous declarations given by the

Crown and by the Viceroys of India at various times, including the Duke of Connaught when he inaugurated the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and for maintaining the rights and privileges which we have within our States and which are guaranteed to us by numerous promises that have been given to us and by our treaties. With regard to federation and with regard to our entry into federation the questions that will come before Your Excellency and the Imperial Government are those covered by this resolution which has been moved by His Highness on my right to which I give my support

(The resolution was carried unanimously)

His Excellency the Viceroy: Perhaps I may add that I am delighted to see the terms of this resolution, particularly that part which says that the Princes are prepared to authorise their representatives to carry on further negotiations in London with the object of securing all the safeguards essential for the protection of the States and for the preservation of their sovereignty and autonomy. I would only add that I will support and assist Your Highnesses in that regard in every way I can.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar: Your Excellency: Your Highnesses, The resolution which I beg to move, reads as follows —

- (a) that the Chamber of Princes records its disappointment at the tentative outline and basis of the proposals of His Majesty's Government for the allocation of seats to the States *inter se*
- (b) that in view, however, of the fact that His Majesty's Government's proposals are only illustrative, and His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to invite reasonable amendments to make it generally acceptable, the Chamber is prepared to make a further attempt towards that end.

Your Excellency, I admit that the question of allocation of seats, amongst States *inter se*, with the limited number of seats available for the States, presents many obvious difficulties, and the task of reconciling the many claims advanced in this behalf, is not an easy one. The problem, however, does not seem insoluble, but the illustrative scheme of allocation of seats amongst States, indicative of the tentative proposals of His Majesty's Government, has, I submit with due deference, caused us profound disappointment, mainly on account of the following considerations:—

- (a) It makes invidious distinctions between certain States more or less of the same status and category
- (b) It does not give individual representation to a majority of the Chamber States.
- (c) It would lead to the grouping of most of the Chamber States, even for the Lower House, with administrative difficulties, which can easily be foreseen
- (d) The proposed Scheme of alternate representation in the Upper House, would result in the representatives of the States, entitled to such representation, changing place after a year or so. This would detract from the continuity of interest necessary for the utility of the members in the Legislature, and may mean that a member who had introduced an important measure for consideration of the legislature might have to retire just at the time when the measure was being considered

Your Excellency will doubtless appreciate that the strong insistence, as a *sine qua non*, of the Chamber States, to get individual representation in the Legislature (both Houses together), is natural and a necessary safeguard; and the non-recognition of this basic principle in the illustrative proposals referred above, threatens almost a crisis. We are grateful however, to Your Excellency for having invited, in your Inaugural Address to the Chamber, such reasonable amendments of these proposals as would make them generally acceptable. We welcome this opportunity.

Your Excellency, I am one of those who believe that in the present circumstances and at this stage the cry for equal representation for all Chamber States in the Upper Federal House is not a practicable proposition, but I feel confident that Schemes could be evolved which, while giving some of the more important States their due quota according to the main principles laid down by His Majesty's Government, may, by slight modification thereof, make it possible for a satisfactory distribution of allocation of seats amongst States, which will remove many invidious distinctions, and also give every member of the Chamber of Princes, present and future, at least one vote in the Upper House or Lower House, or $\frac{1}{2}$ vote in the Upper House and $\frac{1}{2}$ vote in the Lower House as may generally be favoured so that all of them get individual representation in the Legislature, i.e., both Houses taken together, and yet leave sufficient margin for groups of the remaining States. The Working Committee of the Chamber of Princes has got up a tentative Scheme on these lines, and we propose to refer it to a Representative Committee for further examination and revision, and thereafter it could be circulated amongst the States with a view to secure general agreement. We would in the meantime appeal to Your Excellency also to be pleased to direct your officials to apply themselves to this delicate question, with a view to find a solution on the lines referred above. The only technical objection which could be raised against a possible solution on these lines would be, that those Chamber States which cannot get individual representation in the Upper House, will have to be provided with higher representation in the Lower House, than that to which they would be entitled on a strict population basis. Such variations, however, are sometimes inevitable in view of practical considerations. Even in British India, an average of one million population, gets one vote in the Lower House, but the Province of Coorg, with a population of one lac and sixty-six thousand gets one vote. I would, further submit that even a Scheme worked out on the lines referred above, could be generally acceptable only if it is made subject to the following provisos:—

1. that it will, in no way, affect the relative precedence or importance of the States because many States may not be given more representation merely because of the limited number of votes
2. that every State which gets one vote in the Federal Legislature (both Houses together) or more will be entitled to all the safeguards assured to the Federal Units under the Constitution

With these words, I beg to move the resolution standing in my name.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise to second the resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar. It is because it is a matter of such vital

importance to the very existence of the States, especially the so-called smaller States, that they naturally feel so deeply interested in the question of allocation of seats in the Federal Legislature.

The question of the representation of States proposing to enter a Federation has always been of paramount importance in all Conventions that have met in the past to evolve a Federal Scheme. Through their representatives in the Federal Legislature alone can the constituent States influence the Federal policies. And in the absence of being in a position to exercise what they consider adequate control the States are always reluctant to transfer to the Federation a sufficient portion of their individual powers to render the Federation an effective entity.

The problem of representation has in most cases been solved in other Federations by allocating to each unit equal representation in the Upper Chamber, regardless of area or population, as a recognition of the equal sovereignty enjoyed by the States prior to their entry into the Federation. And with a view to placate the larger States, representation in the Lower House is allotted on the basis of population, so that the States with larger populations secure greater representation. This calculation on a population basis has, however, been invariably subjected to one fundamental consideration that no federal constituency will extend beyond the borders of a State, as such extension would disrupt the very integrity of that State. And it is a necessary corollary of this fundamental recognition of the entity of a State, that whatever the ratio of population for one member over the entire population, no State with a population even considerably less than this ratio, is denied at least one member in the Lower House.

In some modern federations the principle of equality of representation in the Upper Chamber does not operate, but I submit there is no such federation where a constituent State has failed to obtain at least one member in each of the two Houses of the Federal Legislature.

In the case of British India, the Federal Structure Committee of the Second Round Table Conference did not depart from this fundamental principle. In the Scheme of Allocation within the numbers fixed for each House, that the Committee prepared the ratio of population to one member of the Lower House, in the case of the whole of British India, worked out to be a little over a million souls; and yet Coorg with a population of only two and a half lakhs was awarded one member in the Upper and one in the Lower Chamber.

The Indian States now find that there is no prospect of the application of a universally recognised federal principle of representation only in the case of themselves. Every sovereign State does not only obtain at least one member in the Upper House, but in the case of the Lower House also there is evidence of intention to introduce a rigid population basis of one member for 6,40,000 souls.

Any scheme of allocation to be acceptable to all the States will, in my humble opinion, require due consideration of the sovereign status and individual entity of every autonomous State as a separate unit of the Federation. I would refrain here from dilating on the unsatisfactory nature of the salute test for the States *inter se*. The importance of a State for the purposes of Federation should not be judged primarily by the number of guns salute enjoyed by each State but by factors such

as the exercise of full autonomy, its historical importance, its geographical position, etc. It is a patent fact that the salute list itself, as it is today, contains many anomalies.

In supporting the second part of the Resolution I would like to urge most respectfully that the Chamber in considering any scheme of allocation of seats should give its most careful consideration to all these material factors so as to satisfy the doubts and apprehensions of all the States. I would also respectfully request Your Excellency to move His Majesty's Government if necessary to augment the States' quota in the Upper Chamber so as to satisfy the requirements of all the sovereign States joining the Federation Scheme.

Lastly, I should here like to express my deep sense of gratitude to the Rulers of Larger States whose names are well known to all of us who have always championed the cause of the Smaller States as their own and I sincerely hope they will continue to lend us their weighty support in procuring for us adequate representation in both the Houses of Legislature which would ensure at least our existence as autonomous Units in the future policy of India.

With these words I beg to commend the Resolution for the acceptance of this House.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Time does not permit of any lengthy entry into details on this question which naturally concerns most vitally all the States from the biggest to the smallest. Nor would this be the proper occasion for dealing with such matters at length. But as one, who from time to time, even before the institution of the Chamber, has fully sympathised with all the legitimate aspirations of what are known, comparatively speaking, as the Smaller States, and who has tried to render service to them and fought for them, I beg whole-heartedly to support this Resolution. History is in one way repeating itself, for when the Chamber of Princes was started a little over dozen years ago, there was the same question, when it was my good fortune to be of some service to some of the smaller States. It has been often declared—indeed if any such declaration was necessary—that two factors arising out of the Federation question will prove the determining factors in the entry of the Princes into Federation; there was first question of safeguards which has been covered by the previous Resolution moved a little while ago, and the other was the question of the allocation of seats. It was because we knew that the very greatest difficulty would be experienced—even on the ideal, and the generally accepted principles, of most of the Federations, of equality of votes in the Upper Houses for States, as Sovereign States and Governments—that we realised, as was made clear from the very commencement of the Round Table Conference by myself, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal and other Princes, including particularly, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, that nothing less than 125 seats would be possible on which to base any scheme which can afford us satisfaction. I quite realise some of the difficulties in raising the number to 125; and, if this is found impossible, I am at least grateful that the number has been raised from 80 to 100.

But, Sir, there is another complication. The ideal is one thing, and what may or may not be found possible may be another. But we were thinking at the time that, excepting for the special position of Hyderabad,

there might be as far as possible one seat in the Upper House for each State of the Chamber. Now the difficulty has been rendered more acute by the proposal to give plural seats. And, without going into any anomalies and difficulties that will arise out of such a scheme, I wish to make two observations. The first point is this question, if the Princes cannot come to a generally acceptable agreement—and the question cannot of course be left undecided—His Majesty's Government will, in the circumstances, have no other alternative but to give their final proposals, and I see no other course. But I think they would do so with regret, and it is therefore very desirable that we should if at all possible, make another determined effort to arrive at a reasonable compromise likely to be generally acceptable. For, whereas the Communal Award had to be settled by a decision of His Majesty's Government to get on with the Scheme of Constitutional Reforms and His Majesty's Government's decision has naturally to be accepted—unless it is altered by mutual consent of the parties concerned in British India—in this case, the decision of His Majesty's Government, if there is no other alternative, will be there; but it will again largely influence the States concerned in accepting the allocation, or standing out of the Federation. That is a point which, I would impress, should be borne in mind by all concerned. And, secondly, I would urge that we should make a determined effort to try and arrive at some reasonable settlement and compromise.

I realise that all the Sovereign States cannot be satisfied—that would be impossible—because, according to His Majesty's Government scheme, important States are to get larger representation, though how much, and whether it should be varied and what anomalies there may be, is another matter. In supporting this Resolution I would make a final appeal to all those who like some of us here, who are Rulers of important States, and who have had the good fortune for their States—or whether we may put it as—of having secured plural representation to try, by a self-denying ordinance, to accommodate, in a reasonable manner, the Smaller States with due regard to the 'izzat' of our States, to a certain extent at any rate to make a large number of seats available for the benefit of the Smaller States and for the unity of the Indian States as a whole. (Applause)

The Chief of Phaltan: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses. I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution so ably put forward by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar and so well supported by the previous speakers. I do not think I can add anything else to make it more acceptable to the House. But, I hope Your Excellency will permit me to give an indication of my views—which I believe are also the views of the Deccan States—regarding the principles that should guide any scheme of allocation whether it is put forward by His Majesty's or Your Excellency's Government or on behalf of the States themselves. It is evident that no scheme of allocation, however perfect, can please all the sections. Hence any attempt to placate individuals or sections will not serve the best interests of the Order. I, therefore, suggest that let there be a scheme on some principles, which have not sprung up today but which have guided our policy all along. If we are true to them, the scheme will not be open to any criticism on the ground of inconsistency or time-serving.

So far back as on the 19th March 1931, the Chamber has passed a Resolution in an informal meeting that the Representatives of the Chamber

to the Round Table Conference should negotiate with a view to secure individual representation in both the Federal Houses for States enjoying full or practically full powers. Now, the realization of hard facts has shown the impossibility of carrying into effect the letter of this resolution. But the spirit, I venture to say, can still be accomplished. Two subsequent developments of the meaning attached to the phrases, *viz.*, (1) individual representation, and (2) States enjoying full or practically full powers, have led to our drifting away from the original sound principles embodied in them. 'Individual Representation' I submit, does not and can not only mean one vote to each State. It rather suggests that there should be as near an approach to one seat as circumstances may permit. So also the term "full-powered States" does not mean the Chamber States alone when there are States outside who enjoy not only equal but in some cases superior powers to those who are already in the Chamber. It is for this reason that I make bold to say that this convention, *viz.*, that all Chamber States alone and no others are full-powered, is not correct and the sooner it is repudiated the better. All must attempt to submit within a very few days schemes for the consideration of Your Excellency and the Chamber which are based on the above principles enunciated by the Chamber. I only pray that there will be no swerving from the principles which were so well and truly laid.

With these remarks, I fully support the resolution.

His Highness the Raja of Sangli: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; I do not think that I need make any apology for offering a few remarks, for whatever they are worth, on the question, now before the House, of allocation of seats in the Federal Legislature among the States *inter se*. Not only is the subject one of vital and urgent importance to the interests of the Indian States, but there is also the further consideration that His Majesty's Government, which, as we must gratefully acknowledge, desires to secure an impartial and equitable solution of the question, is anxious to know the reactions of all varieties of Princes to its observations in the White Paper regarding the matter. In view of the fact, however, that several speakers have already spoken on the subject and others may still have to express their views on it, I shall try to be as brief as possible.

Allocation in the Lower Chamber

The Lower Chamber in a Federal Constitution, as you know, represents the nation as a whole. His Majesty's Government has clearly expressed in the White Paper its opinion that the allocation of seats in the Lower House or Assembly should be based *in the main* on population. In this, His Majesty's Government has followed the agreement reached at the Second Round Table Conference that the distribution of seats in the Lower Chamber should tally as closely as possible with the population ratio, so far as British India is concerned. There is no reason why the States should be denied the benefit of this principle which has been extended to British India, unless any individual State may renounce it for a compensating advantage.

Weightage to the Smaller States.

We find that in spite of accepting the population ratio for distribution of seats in the Lower Chamber, the Round Table Conference has recommended weightage for two of the Provinces, namely, Bombay and Punjab,

reducing the representation that Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces would otherwise have. It also allows one representative each to the minor Provinces of Delhi, Ajmer, Coorg and Baluchistan, although the population of one of them is only roughly two lakhs. These recommendations have been followed in the White Paper. Examples from other constitutions are not wanting, in which the representation of the most populous federating units is restricted below the population ratio. The loss of the seats which the most populous of the Indian States would suffer if they were to surrender weightage to the smaller States would be a mere flea-bite to them, while the accretion of those seats to the quota of the remaining States would be of material help to them. I, therefore, respectfully propose that His Majesty's Government may be pleased to consider whether the representation of the most populous of the States on a strict population ratio in the Lower Chamber should not be reduced so as to add the seats thus released to the representation to be allotted to the remaining States. I venture to think that this release should be particularly utilised in the interests of those States which may receive a fractional seat in the Lower House.

Allocation of Seats in the Upper Chamber

The problem of allocation of seats in the Upper Chamber is very difficult and complicated. The White Paper suggests that the allocation should be based on the rank and importance of a State as indicated by the dynastic salute and other factors. This opinion in itself is enough to show that His Majesty's Government do not regard the salute alone as a safe guide for determining the measure of representation to be given to a State. The salutes of Rulers were not settled on uniform principles, and when they were granted, they were intended to mark the dignity of Rulers. It has been admitted by Government and the Princes that the salute list as it stands is full of anomalies. States relatively small have a higher salute than much bigger States. The salutes were in the main fixed nearly 70 years ago, and they are a reflex of the circumstances, exigencies and personal equations of those days. Things have been completely revolutionised since then, and the salutes have not kept pace with the new circumstances and factors which have since sprung into importance. At a time when in the words of Sir Samuel Hoare, our distinguished Secretary of State, the old articles of association are getting out of date and a new bond of union is being found, I hope it will not be considered necessary to weave into it the outworn threads, which will not be able to bear the strain in regard to the subjects with which the Federation will deal. The salute cannot, I humbly think, be regarded as an adequate criterion of the representation to be allotted to a State.

9-Gun States.

Taking even 9-gun States as an example, we find that some of them compare favourably with some of the States enjoying a salute of 11, 13, 15 and even 17 guns, not only as regards revenue and population, but also as regards antiquity, historic traditions, internal powers of administration, efficiency of administration, the political consciousness of the people and loyalty to the Empire. There is no reason why these States, which

can bring to the Federation such a quantity of federal content, should have a lesser measure of representation in the Upper Chamber than other States which possess no better, simply because the former have not a salute of more than 9 guns.

A Salute as a Measure of Autonomy.

It is sometimes supposed that the autonomy of a State can be measured by its salute. There are, however, well-known examples of States enjoying a high salute of 17, 19 or 21 guns, which have their powers of internal administration restricted by their treaties. Parliamentary etiquette prevents me from mentioning their names here. I hope I shall not be accused of egotism if I state here, by way of example, that my State though it has a salute of 9 guns only has not its powers curtailed by its agreement like some of the States with 17, 19 and 21 guns. The salute is thus no index of the autonomy of a State.

Effect of various Schemes on the Test of Salute.

There are various schemes which have from time to time been placed before the Princes, including the one which was announced at the meeting held at the Viceroy's House on March 14th, 1933 and one or two recently attempted by a few leading Princes. If we accept the only scheme which advocated equality of representation in the Upper Chamber for all the States which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right, we find that the other schemes seek to distinguish between States enjoying the same salute, whether it is 21-guns, 17-guns or less, even when they recognise the salute as the basis of allocation to a certain extent. The authors of the schemes have had to distinguish between States having the same number of guns such as 17, 15, 13, 11 and 9 *inter se*. The Government scheme, of which some glimpse has been vouchsafed to us, has also not been able to avoid this. Although differing from one another these schemes unite in diluting the principle of salute. I respectfully venture to think that we have rather been too much obsessed by it and that we ought not to cling to it.

Representation of Governments

In all humility I profoundly believe that we cannot do better than follow other federal constitutions which provide for representation of the Governments of the federating States in the Upper Chamber on a basis of equality.

Variations in Indian States

There is no reason why the States which possess full or practically full internal powers should not as far as possible have equal representation in the Upper Chamber. The States, however, exhibit considerable variation in size and resources, and absolute equality as regards their representation is not, therefore, attainable, so long as there will be only 100

or 104 seats for the States as a whole. As a principle, a reasonable approximation to equality of representation has been accepted as the guiding test for British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber. It is to be hoped that the States too would have the benefit of this principle. I do not thereby mean that the exceptional position of Hyderabad should be ignored or, for example, that a State which has a population of 20 lakhs should have the same number of seats as a State which has a population of 20 or two thousand. What I mean is that the States approximating to each other in population, resources, etc., should be formed into groups, which should have a given quota of seats equally distributed among its members.

A Hypothetical Scheme.

Let us take a scheme in which Hyderabad has five seats, the remaining 21-gun States have 12 seats at three each and all the 19-gun States and a selected number of 17-gun States get 20 to 24 seats. Let us also suppose that the remaining 17-gun States and a selected number of States below 17 guns will have 35 to 33 seats. According to this scheme, there would be at least 27 States below 17 guns which will have one seat each. I most respectfully propose that the States below 17 guns which have a population of 2 lakhs and over, may each receive one seat in the Upper Chamber.

Middling States

If the States have to make to the stability of the constitution, a contribution worthy of themselves, it will be essential that the States which stand mid-way between the largest and the smallest of the 109 States which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right and which thus form so to say the middle classes of the States should be given a whole seat in the Upper Chamber and thus enabled to play in it the part which is legitimately theirs.

Conclusion.

There can be no surer guarantee of stability of a constitution than that it should satisfy the legitimate aspirations of as many as possible of those for whom it is meant and be equitable to them all. The States which are not large rely for their protection in this respect on the strong arm of the British Government which has always protected and will protect in the future the minorities, the weak and the small, and the middling and the smaller States feel confident that they will not do so in vain. I feel sure that His Majesty's Government will be pleased to give their most sympathetic consideration to the claims of all kinds of States.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

His Excellency the Viceroy: I can only say that I entirely endorse what His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner said, and I hope that Your Highnesses will make a most determined effort to arrive at an agreed solution of this problem. Nobody would be more pleased than I if I could send an agreed allocation Home to the Secretary of State for his approval.

Agendum No. 7.

Resolution of thanks by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, to His Highness the Chancellor.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses, The resolution which stands in my name runs as follows.—

That the *Narendra Mandal* places on record its very deep sense of gratefulness and appreciation of the work performed by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar, the Chancellor of *Narendra Mandal*

His Highness, during his term of office, has devoted considerable labour and attention to the interests of the Princes on questions of supreme importance, such as federation, paramountcy, etc., and has untiringly devoted himself to his labours at great personal sacrifice to himself, but in the interests of the Order His Highness has been extremely industrious in his work and deserves the whole-hearted gratitude of the entire Mandal. In presenting this resolution before Your Highnesses for your acceptance I have only very few words to add. For His Highness has been the first cricketeer who has been elected as Chancellor. He had his eleven, which is the number of the Standing Committee. I am not prepared to say that it worked entirely as a team. There was also a good deal of body-line bowling, but nevertheless His Highness has stood his ground, and in the interests of our Order has suffered much odium, but at the same time he has also achieved much praise and glory. And I must earnestly say this that while I have had the pleasure of moving three resolutions on previous occasions thanking the Chancellors for their work—if I may say so without making any invidious remarks—to no one I personally owe, and I believe this House owes, greater thanks than to His Highness, the present Chancellor, for his great industry and untiring labour. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, when he was the Chancellor, made himself indispensable by the fact of his industry and labour, and the very businesslike manner in which his Secretariat conducted the work has not been repeated again. For while formerly we received our agenda or work cards at the schedule time and had our papers before us in time to give detailed and considered opinion on the subjects before us, although His Highness the Chancellor has been most anxious to follow the same procedure, if I may speak frankly, the same does not apply to the Chamber Secretariat this time. We have come to our meetings without papers before us, without agenda before us, without the subjects before us for consideration, we assembled hasty meetings and have had to decide most important problems without having the necessary time to consider the propositions. His Highness himself has personally devoted not only his industry, but has incurred a considerable amount of expense in the interests of our Order, which through his magnanimity he has not passed on to us although the Princes are entitled to share his burdens. With these few words I move this resolution and in moving this I would say His Highness has had more experience of England than any of us here in this Chamber or perhaps outside it. He has been known as the finest cricketeer of his time, and since he left cricket, due to an unfortunate incident or accident, he has played cricket very rightly and correctly, and his name is so famous in England, that it will be sacrilegious on my part to refer to it as the Great Ranji. But, for our own Order, he has

made himself very dear and familiar by the fact that he has been a great cementing force where any dissensions might have arisen or where difficulties have appeared on the horizon. Therefore I feel certain that Your Highnesses will join with me in seconding and supporting this resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; It is with the most unqualified pleasure that I rise to second this Resolution. It would be idle to conceal the fact that His Highness the Maharaja Jamsaheb and I have—though happily very rarely—not always seen eye to eye. But I am sure that His Highness is the first Prince to realise and to appreciate, that they are healthy differences of opinion, and in no way personal to His Highness. I have now had the privilege of knowing His Highness for close upon 40 years, and he is one of the "Old Brigade", who has been associated with us, ever since 1916 at any rate, in fighting the battles of the States and in working for the States. And both out of the respect and regard which I entertain for His Highness and my personal friendship and esteem for him I beg to second this Resolution.

The Raja of Sarila: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Permit me, Sir, to associate myself with this resolution and all the sentiments that have been expressed in its support. It was my privilege and pleasure to come into close touch with His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib in London on the occasion of the Third Round Table Conference, and I deem it my duty to place on record the deep interest which His Highness took in the labours of the States' Delegation. His wise counsel was always at our disposal in considering intricate questions of constitutional importance, and His Highness' personal charm of manners made it a particular pleasure to attend the informal meetings of the Delegation over which he presided. His Highness will always be remembered as one of our Chancellors who assumed the stewardship of the Chamber at a most critical period in the history of the Indian States, and to whom our Order will remain under a lasting debt of gratitude. With these words I support this resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses will have heard this Resolution proposed, seconded and supported, and before I put it to you I would just say that I think it is hardly necessary for me to add any words. I have already expressed my great appreciation of His Highness the Chancellor's services during the past year on the occasion when I opened the Chamber. I would merely say to-day that I endorse every word that has been expressed by Your Highnesses, who moved, seconded and supported this resolution.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

His Highness the Chancellor: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I feel deeply indebted for the kind words that have been uttered by Their Highnesses who proposed and seconded the Resolution and by the gracious remarks of His Excellency. It has been a very great pleasure to me to serve the interests of my Order. When I undertook the office last year, I felt really that I was not qualified for this very high position, and the reason is this. Your Excellency Your Highnesses, I am not a politician. The politician is one who respectfully has to hide his feelings and to clothe his sentiments in words in exactly the opposite of what he

means. (Laughter) I have not got that great gift and if I have failed, therefore, from knowing very well that I had not possessed that gift I hope you will forgive me Your Excellency, I would like to give you an assurance that I have the greatest affection and regard for you, and no personal differences of opinion would make the slightest difference in our warm relations towards one another. (Cheers) Your Highnesses, I am deeply grateful to you. I have done my best, and if I have failed (*Cries of 'No', 'No'.*) it will be no fault of mine.

Agendum No. 8.

Elections.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses; We will now proceed to the elections in regard to which I have to announce to you that Their Highnesses of Kashmir, Cutch and Nawanagar do not wish to stand for any office as I understand it. Their Highnesses of Dholpur, Bahawalpur and Bikaner do not wish to stand for the Chancellorship. Before proceeding with the elections, I would ask Sir Charles Watson to explain to Your Highnesses the method of procedure.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: I do not wish to stand for the Pro-Chancellorship either I am sorry I forgot to tell this at first. I apologise.

The Honourable Sir Charles Watson: Your Highnesses, The voting papers will be distributed to all the Members and Representative Members of the Chamber for the office of the Chancellor. Only Members of the Chamber in their own right are eligible for this office. Only one name should be written on the voting paper and the papers should not be soiled. The box in which the papers will be put when the name has been entered will be placed on the table No signature is required on the papers.

(The election was then conducted.)

His Excellency the Viceroy: I have to inform Your Highnesses the result of the election for the Chancellor.

	Votes.
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala . . .	29
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar . . .	4

I declare His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala duly elected Chancellor.

Perhaps I may be allowed to say in congratulating His Highness that our relations are of the most friendly and cordial character

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: With Your Excellency's permission, Sir, I beg to thank Your Excellency for the kind sentiments you have expressed It will be my endeavour during the term of my office to co-operate whole-heartedly and earnestly with Your Excellency and your Department With Your Excellency's permission, I beg to thank Their Highnesses for the confidence they have reposed in me, and I hope I will justify their confidence There is one request I want to make. I hope Their Highnesses will give me a Standing Committee which it will be possible for me to work with

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses will now proceed to elect the Pro-Chancellor.

The Honourable Sir Charles Watson: Your Highnesses; The procedure in regard to the election of the Pro-Chancellor is exactly the same as that for the election of the Chancellor

(The election was then conducted.)

His Excellency the Viceroy: The results, Your Highnesses, of the election are as follows —

	Votes.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur . . .	31
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar . . .	2
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur . . .	1
His Highness the Maharaja of Panna . . .	1

I therefore declare His Highness of Dholpur elected as Pro-Chancellor.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur: I beg to thank Their Highnesses for electing me as Pro-Chancellor.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses will now proceed to elect a Standing Committee.

The Honourable Sir Charles Watson: Your Highnesses, for the Standing Committee 9 names will be placed on the voting paper excluding the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor. Only members of the Chamber of Princes in their full right are entitled to be elected as members of the Standing Committee. Nine names will be placed on the voting paper, and the voting papers should not be signed

(The election was then conducted)

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, the following 9 Princes have been elected to the Standing Committee.—

	Votes.
1. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner . . .	32
2. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar . . .	31
3. His Highness the Raja of Sangli . . .	28
4. His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner . . .	26
5. His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar . . .	25
6. His Highness the Maharaja of Panna . . .	24
7. His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur . . .	23
8. His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur . . .	23
9. His Highness the Nawab of Rampur . . .	15

There are 16 other Princes who have received votes, but none of them has got more than 7 votes, and I think it is hardly necessary for me to read out their names to Your Highnesses. I declare these 9 Princes elected as Members of the Standing Committee.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar: With Your Excellency's permission I just want to say a few words in respect of some reflections that were made on office work this morning by His Highness of Alwar. While I do not claim any perfection for the Chancellor's office, I want to point out that those who serve the Chamber should not have to shoulder a burden which is not of their own creation, and no blame attached to them when it is the blame of the Princes. We waste such a lot of time through not being punctual, we talk sometimes very irrelevantly; and I think all that unfortunately adds to the difficulties of the office in circulating papers, and I think it is only right to point out to my

colleagues that if we could only do two things, that is, be punctual and talk less irrelevantly we should be getting on with our work much better, and the office will have some chance of circulating papers in time. Having said that I think I shall have done my duty towards those who serve in the office. Now, with Your Excellency's permission I would like to read on behalf of the Princes our reply to Your Excellency's opening address.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: May I just say a few words. I did not cast any reflection on His Highness the Chancellor. I have already paid the highest tribute conceivable with regard to His Highness' work. What I meant was with regard to the Chancellor's Secretariat in the matter of receiving agenda and working cards in time, and I did not refer in any sense to any difficulties on account of punctuality or otherwise in the Standing Committee.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I think there is no doubt on the part of Your Highnesses of what His Highness the Chancellor really intended to say. I think it is perfectly clear.

His Highness the Chancellor: Your Excellency, On behalf of the Chamber of Princes I have the honour to express to Your Excellency our sincere thanks for the pronouncement with which Your Excellency opened the proceedings of this House. We are most grateful to you for the courteous attention with which you have listened to our speeches, and the tact and patience with which you have guided our deliberations. Your Excellency's address dealt with many matters of great importance to the Princes and States of India and I hope you will pardon me, if I, on behalf of my brother Princes, venture to offer a few observations on some of them.

We welcome Your Excellency's announcement, that the States which are now in political relations with the Provincial Governments will soon be transferred to the Government of India. We are glad to be assured that the administrative and financial difficulties in the way of this reform have been resolved and the change will take place almost immediately. We trust that at an early date the policy recommended at the instance of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report will be put into execution; and that all the remaining States of India such as the Simla Hill States will be in direct relations with the Government of India.

One important aspect of this question, which was provided for the benefit of the States concerned by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, still remains pending. This is the question of the simplification of political relations. We have referred to it on previous occasions and we earnestly hope that this matter too will be brought to a satisfactory solution by Your Excellency.

The claims of admission of new States to this Chamber as members in their own right are being examined by a Committee, whose Report will be before Your Excellency. Their recommendations, we feel sure, have been made after taking into full consideration all the factors relating to each case, and we hope that the claims of States for admission to the electoral groups will also be considered in this connection.

We are grateful to Your Excellency for giving sympathetic consideration to the question of Ceremonial Honours and Dignities of Ruling

Princes. This is a question on which our Order feels deeply, as it not merely affects their status as Ruling Princes, but their prestige in relation to their people. We are sure that as the representative of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor to whom in the words of the historic proclamation of 1858, the rights, dignity and honour of Indian Princes are as his own, Your Excellency will appreciate the depth of our feelings in this matter. Under Your Excellency's wise guidance and with the generous sympathy which you have always extended to us, we are sure, that this matter will be satisfactorily settled without delay. We hope that before any final decision is arrived at, the Standing Committee and the Princes as a whole will be informally consulted.

On the main question of Federation, upon which Your Excellency has made so important a pronouncement, you will expect us at this stage to say but little, for in the few days which have elapsed since the publication of the White Paper, it has not yet been possible for us to discuss it in all its aspects. We have, however, devoted much time and thought, collectively and individually, to the examination of the general principles to which the White Paper lends countenance; and as Your Excellency is aware, we have after the most careful consideration drawn up a list of essentials which, in our view, any scheme of Federation, if it is to be acceptable to those States which desire to federate must fulfil. In this connection I would respectfully advert to those passages in Your Excellency's speech in which you indicate that points not susceptible of mutual agreement may have to be left to decision by His Majesty's Government. We gladly acknowledge the impartial disinterestedness of His Majesty's Government, just as we respect their anxiety that matters in dispute should be brought to a fair and reasonable settlement. But, as Your Excellency is well aware, there are certain fundamental principles, upon which the representatives of the States have throughout these protracted negotiations laid the greatest stress. Any departure from these principles, we feel, will make it most difficult for many States to join the Federal Scheme. And I cannot help feeling that the extent to which the final Scheme acknowledges and embodies these conditions, is likely to prove a potent factor in the final decision which each State, as both Your Excellency and His Majesty's Government have acknowledged will be free to make in accordance with its own choice when the final picture is completed.

I do not here enumerate these fundamental principles, which will be placed in Your Excellency's hands separately. In addition to these questions of principle, there are two matters of detail which are causing anxiety to members of my Order. We welcome Your Excellency's assurance that the principle laid down for the allocation of seats in the Council of State among States members gives considerable latitude for interpretation. For in arriving at a solution of this difficult question, it is necessary to explore every possible avenue of approach. In the next place, there are many members of my Order who are anxious that specific provision should be made to enable those States who so desire, to accede to the Federation collectively through a Confederation, a plan which in the eyes of a strong section of opinion appears to offer many advantages.

We thank Your Excellency from the bottom of our hearts for the sympathy—so typical, if I may venture to say so, of your whole career—with which you have viewed our doubts and difficulties. As Your

Excellency so justly remarks, unrest and unsettlement in the political world is evident on all sides, and so much that has appeared unshakeable has crashed into ruin. We are deeply grateful for your acknowledgment of the reasonableness of our determination to pause and consider which way safety and happiness lie. Your Excellency, wiser than so many of our statesmen, will not expect us to pronounce our final decision until the due time for so doing has arrived. From the time of the First Round Table Conference, our representatives made it clear that any agreements to which they might become parties were provisional dependent upon the ratification both of the Chamber and of each individual State. For us, the Princes of India, this decision is no light one. It is for us to think not only of the present, but also of the past and of the future. Our ancestors bequeathed to us a great position and a great responsibility, it is for us to see that this heritage upon which the welfare and prosperity of so many millions depends, is transmitted in its integrity, to those who will succeed us. For this reason, if for no other, as Your Excellency has so well appreciated, we must weigh our decision well and truly before we take it.

Your Excellency, we join respectfully with you in your conviction that the States have a great and noble part to play in the future of India and of the Empire. The traditions and the ideals which they enshrine shine forth with a steady light through the dark storm which now rages over the politics of the world. As in the past, so in the future, it will be at once our privilege and our responsibility to further the peace and tranquillity of India; to strengthen the bonds of the British connection; and to uphold without diminution that loyalty to the Person and Throne of the King-Emperor, which is our chief pride.

Your Excellency, on behalf of the Chamber let me once again thank you for the unfailing sympathy with which you have approached our problems, championed our cause and appreciated our difficulties.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, I should like in the first place to thank most sincerely His Highness the Jam Sahib for his very charming references to myself. If I may say so, such labours as I have had to undergo on behalf of Your Highnesses during the year are indeed labours of love. I have always had the keenest interest in everything connected with the Ruling Princes ever since I came out to Bombay some 20 years ago. Now, I do not think that you would expect me to detain you this afternoon in referring to any of the points with regard to Federation which His Highness the Jam Sahib has raised during his very charming references within the last two or three minutes. I would merely say this. You have got a perfectly clear indication of what the position of the Viceroy is in the matter. You have his clear idea with regard to what your position would best be, but, as I said at the beginning of my remarks when I opened the Chamber, it is for Your Highnesses to decide. I can only say to you all that I sincerely trust, with all my heart, that you will be guided in the right way and that your decision will be in the best interests not only of your own Order but in the best interests of India as a whole. Your Highnesses, may I thank you all for the very kind and courteous way in which you have submitted to the ruling of the Chair since you have arrived for this session of the Chamber. May I conclude my observations by saying that the Chamber will now adjourn *sine die*.

This concluded the proceedings of the day.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL)
DURING THE SESSION HELD ON THE 20TH AND 25TH MARCH 1933.

Agendum No. 1.

Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar on the death of His late Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur.

Resolved—The Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the sad demise of His Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur together with the sense of the loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes and offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved family.

Agendum No. 2.

Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar to His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur.

Resolved.—The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur on his assumption of powers and welcomes him in its midst wishing him a long and prosperous reign

Agendum No. 4.

To receive from His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar the report of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani regarding his work as a representative of India at the last meeting of the League of Nations.

Resolved.—This Chamber places on record its appreciation of the work done by Sir Prabhashankar Pattani as the representative of the States on the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations, 1932.

Agendum No. 6.

Resolutions on matters arising out of the White Paper.

1 Paramountcy.

Resolved—This Chamber while placing on record its conviction of the urgent necessity of arriving at an equitable and satisfactory settlement of the Paramountcy problem by the method of discussion and negotiation between His Excellency the Viceroy and representative Princes of this Chamber, expresses its sincere thanks to His Excellency Lord Willingdon for the sustained and sympathetic interest which he has displayed in the negotiations of the last two years; endorses and affirms the position so far taken up by the representatives of the Princes; emphasises that the main essential to the desired settlement is the determination of justiciable issues by judicial process; and authorises these Princes to continue these negotiations with the sympathetic help of His Excellency.

2. Federation.

Resolved.—This Chamber places on record its strong opinion that the entry of the Princes into Federation depends upon the inclusion in the constitution and the treaties of accession, of the essential safeguards for which the States have consistently pressed. They are prepared to authorise their representatives to carry on further negotiations in London with the object of securing all the safeguards essential for the protection of the States and for the preservation of their sovereignty and autonomy, and with the object of assisting in framing a scheme which would assure such measure of general agreement as may be necessary to ensure the stability and smooth working of the new constitution

3 Allocation of seats.

Resolved—(a) that the Chamber of Princes records its disappointment at the tentative outline and basis of the proposals of His Majesty's Government for the allocation of seats to the States *inter se*.

(b) that in view, however, of the fact that His Majesty's Government's proposals are only illustrative, and His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to invite reasonable amendments to make it generally acceptable, the Chamber is prepared to make a further attempt towards that end

Agendum No. 7.

Resolution of thanks by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to His Highness the Chancellor.

Resolved—That the Narendra Mandal places on record its very deep sense of gratefulness and appreciation of the work performed by His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar, the Chancellor of Narendra Mandal.

Agendum No. 8.*Elections.*

Resolved—That according to the largest number of votes His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala be elected as Chancellor.

Resolved—That according to the largest number of votes His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur be elected as Pro-Chancellor.

Resolved.—That the following Princes be elected as Members of the Standing Committee.—

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Raja of Sangli

His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

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